

**SPECIAL
REPORT**

THE SCIENCE

How your brain
reacts under fire

THE STRATEGY

Breaking down
Obama's plan

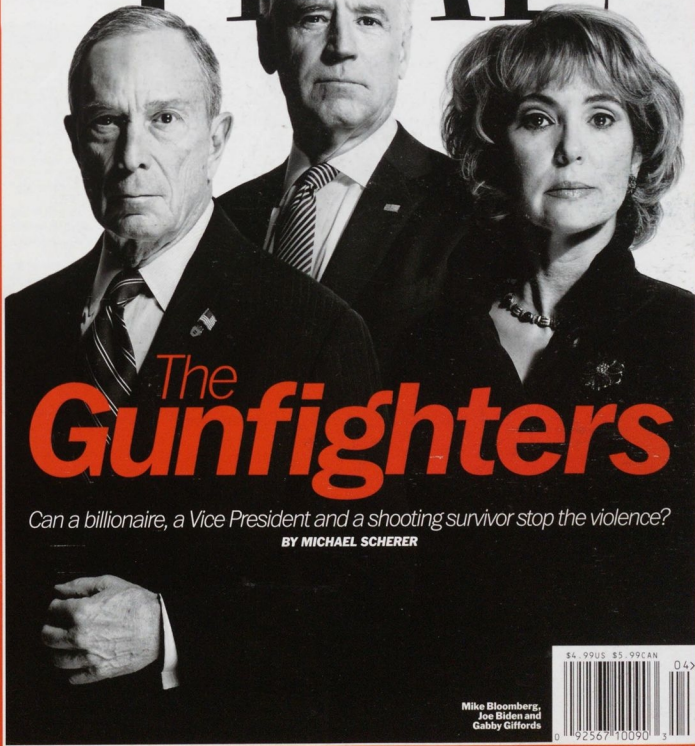
TIME/CNN POLL

Do Americans
want stricter laws?

THE NATION

A state-by-state
look at regulations

TIME



The **Gunfighters**

Can a billionaire, a Vice President and a shooting survivor stop the violence?

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

Mike Bloomberg,
Joe Biden and
Gabby Giffords

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043

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RETAKE

CONTROL OF YOUR OWN FUTURE

TIME

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Chris Christie

Barack
Obama's
second
term


Can We Reduce Gun Violence?

For this week's special report, we created a memorable cover image that involved photographing Vice President

THE CONVERSATION

Who's the Boss?

TIME's Jan. 21 cover image of Chris



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PLAY SECOND FIDDLE,

OR MAKE IT SMALL.


THIS IS NEW YORK STATE.

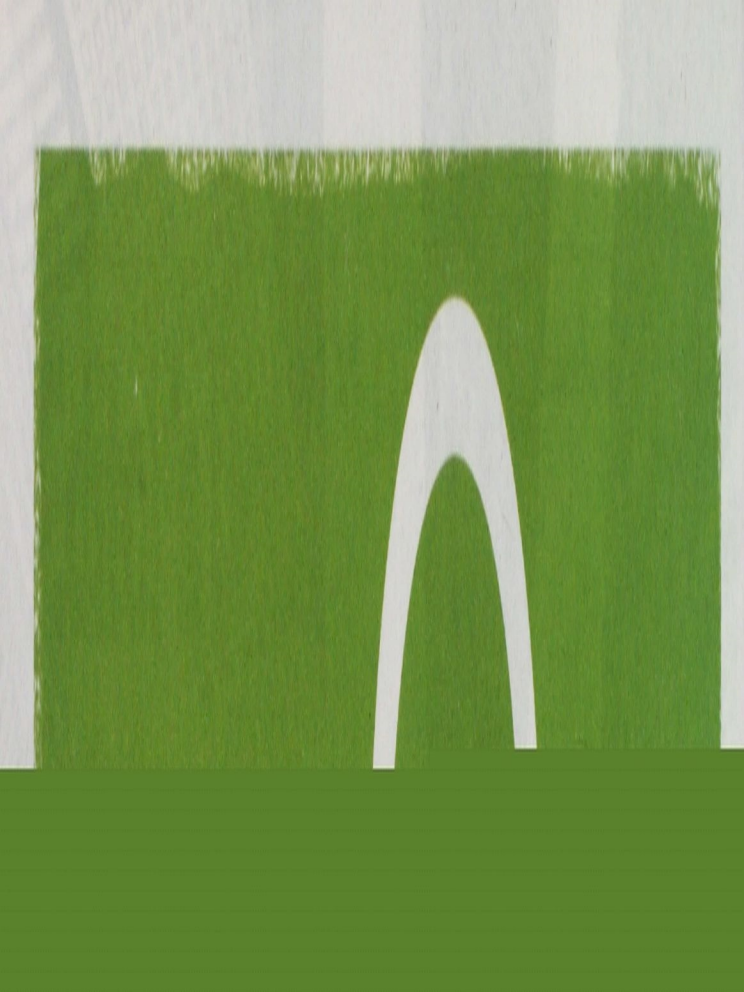


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Briefing

'We all believe that no one who serves our country should have to fight for a job once they return home.'

1. **MICHELLE OBAMA**, praising Walmart's new plan to offer a job to any honorably discharged veteran who wants one

'Al-Qaeda never owned Afghanistan. They do own northern Mali.'

2. **ROBERT FOWLER**, former U.N. diplomat who was kidnapped and held for 130 days by an African al-Qaeda group, after France deployed troops to dislodge the al-Qaeda-linked fighters from the African nation

'Well... he did not—'

3. **CLARENCE THOMAS**, U.S. Supreme Court justice, speaking from the bench during oral arguments for the first time in nearly seven years. The remark, which was truncated in the court transcript, was reportedly a joke about lawyers from Yale Law School, Thomas' alma mater

'The Administration does not support blowing up planets.'

4. **PAUL SHAWCROSS**, chief of the science and space branch of the White House Budget Office, rejecting a WhiteHouse.gov petition signed by 34,435 people asking the government to build a national-defense "Death Star"

'I can only say I was satisfied by the answers.'

5. **OPRAH WINFREY**, describing her interview with Lance Armstrong in which the cycling superstar admitted he used performance-enhancing drugs to win the Tour de France



**1.2
BILLION**

Tons of food—as much as 50% of the world's total production—that gets thrown away, according to a new report by the Institution of Mechanical Engineers

349

Number of U.S. military suicides in 2012, more than the 295 troops killed in combat in Afghanistan during the year



800

People who signed up for the Python Challenge in Florida, a monthlong Burmese-python-hunting contest

\$6 BILLION

Estimated amount Americans paid in airline fees—not tickets—in 2012

Briefing

LightBox



Pilgrims' progress

Hindu holy men enter the waters of the Ganges in Allahabad in northern India during the Maha Kumbh Mela, an ancient monthlong rite that may draw 100 million devotees this year

Photograph by Daniel Berehulak—Getty Images
lightbox.time.com



World



WORLD
 **600**
 million

Number of jobs that need to be created in the developing world by 2020 just to keep up with population growth; globally, some 200 million people are currently unemployed, with youth especially hard hit

Can France Stop Islamists in West Africa?

1 | MALI French military action against Islamists in northern Mali, launched Jan. 11, was a long time coming. The West African nation's descent into chaos began a year ago when an alliance of tribal Tuareg and Islamists, including al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, began a rebellion in northern Mali. The Islamists were well funded and well armed. They had earned tens of millions of dollars kidnapping and ransoming Westerners and tens of millions more smuggling South American cocaine across the Sahara to Europe. At the end of 2011, when Tuareg troops loyal to former Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi fled south

with their weapons after Gaddafi's fall, the Islamists went shopping for arms. In March 2012, the outmatched Malian army mutinied, and the rebels used the chaos to seize the northern half of the country. Then the Islamists turned on their Tuareg allies before imposing Shari'a, establishing an al-Qaeda state just south of Europe.

France is the lead international player in French-speaking West Africa, a legacy of the country's colonial rule. Security issues there concern Paris more than most. Malian Islamists have repeatedly vowed to attack France, and French intelligence officials tell TIME that French jihadists

are making their way to Mali. But at times, France's historic presence has gone hand in hand with old-school practices: support of dubious Big Men—sometimes financially, sometimes with firepower—in return for access to oil and minerals.

That is something France had vowed to change—but change isn't easy. While French President François Hollande drew up a plan to recapture northern Mali last year that placed the Malian army and the West African regional bloc ECOWAS in the lead, that strategy was "crap," in the delicate words of U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Susan Rice. Despite years of training by U.S. special-operations troops, neither force can be relied on.

The French attack, initiated after the Islamists resumed their advance south on Jan. 9, was a tacit admission that Africa can't always handle African problems. But France is in a precarious position. Paris may insist that Mali will be a quick and surgical special-forces war—but that's precisely what the U.S. said about Afghanistan. "One knows how these military interventions begin," the French daily *Le Monde* said on Jan. 14. "One never knows how they end—or rather, one knows lots turned out very badly."

—BY ALEX PERRY

The Buccaneer Stops Here

2 | SOMALIA Mohamed Abdi Hassan, a feared Somali pirate lord known as Big Mouth, announced his retirement from what he called "gang activity" while sporting a blazer and starched shirt at a press conference. International patrols have made Somali piracy less lucrative and more dangerous. Hassan is urging colleagues to quit. He's hardly the first pirate to mend his ways.



HAYREDDIN BARBAROSSA
 A corsair of Greek ancestry, Barbarossa terrorized the western Mediterranean in the 1500s before becoming an Ottoman admiral



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE
 In the eyes of the Spanish, the English sea captain was a dastardly pirate, but he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth I in 1581



HENRY MORGAN
 The Welshman made a name for himself in the 17th century by raiding the Spanish Main before retiring to a political post in the colony of Jamaica



HENRY EVERY
 The legendary English pirate evaded an international manhunt and, according to some, retired to a tropical island with his booty in 1696



French troops refuel a convoy in Mali, where Islamist rebels are threatening



Nowhere to Look

3 | INDIA Champa Devi, mother of one of the six men accused of brutally raping and murdering a 23-year-old woman in New Delhi, covers her face in shame at home in a slum on the outskirts of the Indian capital. The attack has shocked the nation, sparking protests and heated media discussion of sexual violence in a country still steeped in patriarchy. Devi's son is a juvenile and will be charged and tried separately.

AUSTRALIA

'Halfway to Papua New Guinea, passengers reported seeing a snake clinging to the wing.'

SPOKESMAN FOR QANTAS, an Australian airline, after a 10-ft.-long (3 m) scrub python was found on the wing of a plane flying to Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, from Cairns, Australia

Samuel L. Jackson was not needed; the python was found dead



Tumult and Chaos

4 | PAKISTAN As tensions with India heated up over clashes along the border and a spasm of anti-Shi'ite sectarian violence claimed dozens of lives, Pakistan was tipped into a new round of political chaos. Tahir ul-Qadri, a preacher inflamed by the alleged corruption of the country's political class, led tens of thousands of protesters to the heart of Islamabad, camping in front of Parliament and calling for the ouster of the government of President Asif Zardari. At the same time, Pakistan's activist Supreme Court issued an order for the arrest of Zardari's Prime Minister on charges of corruption. If it lasts until March, Zardari's will be the first democratically elected government in Pakistan's history to complete a full term.

This Can't Be Airbrushed

5 | CHINA Residents of Beijing are used to its perennial smog and polluted haze. But the acrid brown soup that suffused the capital the weekend of Jan. 12 horrified the public, kept millions of people indoors and compelled the kowtowing state media to openly discuss the dangers that China's bad air—and breakneck industrial growth—poses for the country's future.

HOW BAD IS CHINA'S AIR?

2.5 10

Size of air particulates, in micrometers, monitored by the U.S. embassy in Beijing, left, vs. the size tracked by China. As a result, official Chinese readings understate pollution

R.I.P. R.I.P. R.I.P. R.I.P. R.I.P. R.I.P. R.I.P. R.I.P.

8,500

Premature deaths from air pollution in four Chinese cities last year, according to studies

886

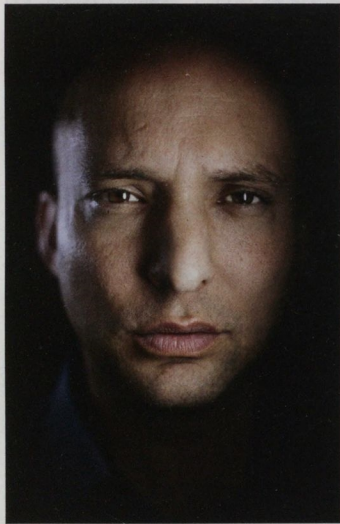
Air-quality reading from the U.S. embassy in Beijing the weekend of Jan. 12

300

Any reading higher than this is hazardous

Dispatch

JERUSALEM



Israel's Right Turn Pro-settlement parties are surging as elections near

By Karl Vick

WHEN PRIME MINISTER Benjamin Netanyahu called last October for elections, it was from a position of confidence and strength. He had already served as Premier longer than all his predecessors except Israel's founder, David Ben-Gurion. His approval ratings were solid, and his efforts to draw

the world's attention to Iran's nuclear program were wildly successful. Even so, to all but guarantee that he would return as Prime Minister, Netanyahu kicked off the campaign with an audacious bargain, merging his right-wing Likud party on the ballot with Yisrael Beiteinu, an even more right-wing

Eyes on the prize *Right-wing newcomer Bennett has attracted Israeli voters with his talk of annexing much of the West Bank*

party controlled by the ultranationalist Avigdor Lieberman. The move was planned as a twofer, to lock up the support of Lieberman's famously loyal voters while pivoting conspicuously in the direction Israeli society has been moving rapidly in recent years: to the right.

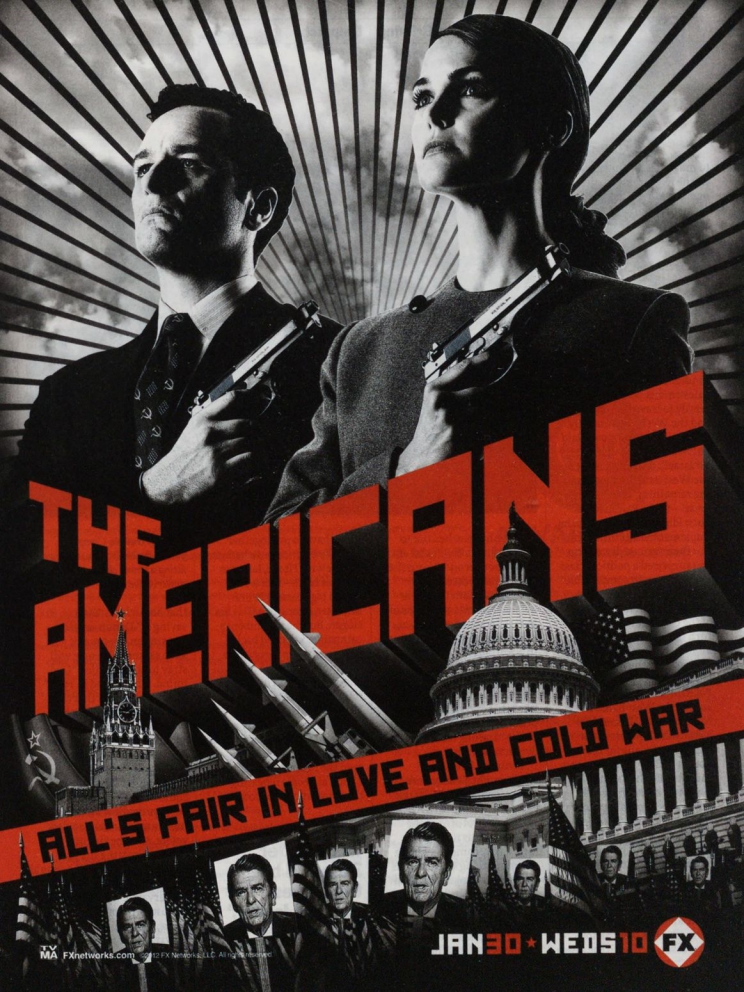
Turns out it's moving faster than Netanyahu thought. Less than a week before the balloting, he was still heavily favored to remain Prime Minister—as the leader of the largest party in a coalition government, as is the norm in Israeli politics—but that is about all that has gone as planned. The story of Israel's 2013 elections is not Netanyahu's glide path to victory in his embrace of Lieberman but the incumbent's bruising by a newly potent rightist force in Israeli politics. One band of energized right-wing activists took over Netanyahu's party in its primaries, bumping aside more centrist members. At the same time, a formerly obscure party championing West Bank settlers, Jewish Home, came alive behind a commando turned high-tech entrepreneur named Naftali Bennett, whose campaign activated a secret weapon: a generation of young Israeli Jews who are markedly more conservative and nationalistic than their parents. “If all voters were under 30, we’d be the largest party in Israel,” says Bennett.

Jewish Home, like Bennett, seemed to come out of nowhere, marketing a “Something new is beginning” campaign with a

technological sophistication that even rivals speak of with admiration. An Israeli news app on your iPhone is likely to open to an image of Bennett. “Naftali Bennett is a brother,” a campaign ad says, using a term of respect from one soldier to another. The result: Jewish Home is in third place in every poll but one, and in that survey it is tied for second with the Labor Party.

Bennett is in the enviable position of having an impressive CV but a short political career, which gives him the sheen of newness for voters. He was an officer in the elite commando unit Sayeret Matkal before making a fortune with a software start-up. Only then did he enter politics. After two years as Netanyahu's chief of staff when Bibi led the opposition, Bennett ran the main settler lobby. In each position, he says, he served as a bridge between the right-wing Orthodox community and Israel's secular population. Which, he says, are slowly converging. “There's sort of a big undercurrent for the past, I would say, 15 years in this society of returning to the basic Jewish and Zionist values, but it's not manifested itself yet, until these elections, in the politics,” Bennett tells TIME.

Because of what that means for the prospects of a peace deal with the Palestinians, the result could be a watershed election even if voters return Netanyahu to power. Polls have long showed Israelis growing more skeptical of a negotiated peace in the almost 10 years since the brutal second *intifadah* ended, and Israel's 2005 withdrawal from the Gaza Strip produced not a Palestinian renaissance but waves of rocket fire. This, however, is the first campaign



THE AMERICANS

ALL'S FAIR IN LOVE AND COLD WAR

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JAN 30 • WEDS 10 

to make the sentiment plain. Of the five largest parties, only one, the Movement party of former Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni, harks back to reviving the moribund negotiations that much of the world still sees as the only way to bring peace to the region.

The primary goal of the right now appears to be not making peace with the Palestinians but rather figuring out how best to annex the West Bank. One Likud candidate suggests paying Palestinians \$500,000 per family to leave their homes and the West Bank entirely. Jewish Home's proposal, laid out in a Facebook video, calls for Israel's annexing most of the West Bank and leaving the remaining 40%—urban areas—to the Palestinians. Such ideas are not likely to be implemented anytime soon. But their serious discussion has surprised a political class that had grown comfortable with the status quo.

The most striking evidence of the campaign's rightward turn is the competition among the parties to support settlements, the Jewish towns whose presence already bars Palestinians from more than 40% of the West Bank. In November and December, Netanyahu's government announced plans for more homes in East Jerusalem and the West Bank than had been approved in the previous nine years, according to data compiled by Peace Now, a left-wing activist group. The moves, which brought outcries from Europe and Washington, prompted no great dissent in the campaign.

Even Shelly Yachimovich, the leader of Labor, the major party that has been historically associated with the peace



process, has reached out to settlers and talks almost entirely about economic justice rather than peace.

It helps Bennett, who is 40, that almost two-thirds of Jewish Israelis ages 15 to 24 called themselves right-wing in a 2010 survey. Numerous polls show young Jews are less inclined to grant equal rights to Arab citizens, less likely to support a negotiated peace and more inclined to prefer "a strong leader" over democratic values.

Bennett's December surge caught Netanyahu's campaign flat-footed. Israeli elections are tallied in Knesset seats—control of 61 of the 120 available is needed to form a government—and in one monthlong stretch, polls showed the conjoined Likud-Beiteinu bloc was losing a seat a week to Jewish Home. To give himself as much power as possible within whatever coalition he will

likely have to put together after the elections—whether with Jewish Home, Labor or another rival—Bibi wants to win big: "Strong Prime Minister, strong Israel" is his slogan. But the incumbent's campaign, knocked back a few paces when Lieberman was indicted Dec. 30 on fraud charges, has been having a tough month. Danny Danon, a Likud parliamentarian regarded as vehemently pro-settler, has been campaigning with Netanyahu and has seen the Prime Minister bristle at people repeating the conventional wisdom

'If all voters were under 30, we'd be the largest party in Israel.'

—NAFTALI BENNETT, LEADER OF THE JEWISH HOME PARTY

Signs of trouble Campaign posters for Netanyahu, who is facing a strong challenge from conservative rivals

that he is a lock. "Stop saying it," Danon says in frustration, "because if you keep saying it," people will stray to other parties. "God forbid. It happened in 1996." That was the year that then Prime Minister Shimon Peres called elections, fully expecting to return to power, only to be blindsided by a challenger from the right. No polls suggest that Bennett could do that this year, but surveys do show an unusually high number of undecided voters. And the risk of underestimating the pace of Israel's drift to the right should not be lost on the young conservative who prevailed almost 17 years ago. His name: Benjamin Netanyahu.

—WITH REPORTING BY AARON J. KLEIN/TEL AVIV



*I'm breathing better,
so now, I can be part of the picture.*

COPD? Ask your doctor about breathing better with ADVAIR.*

ADVAIR helps improve your lung function so you breathe better. **Results may vary.** Unlike most chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD) medications, ADVAIR contains both an anti-inflammatory[†] and a long-acting bronchodilator working together to help improve your lung function. ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 is approved for adults with COPD, including chronic bronchitis, emphysema, or both. ADVAIR DISKUS is not for, and should not be used to treat, sudden, severe symptoms of COPD. ADVAIR won't replace a rescue inhaler. You should only take 1 inhalation of ADVAIR twice a day. Higher doses will not provide additional benefits. Ask your doctor about ADVAIR.

Important Safety Information about ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50

- Do not use ADVAIR to treat sudden, severe symptoms of asthma or COPD. Always have a rescue inhaler medicine with you to treat sudden symptoms.
- Do not use ADVAIR DISKUS if you have severe allergy to milk proteins. Ask your doctor if you are not sure.
- Do not use ADVAIR more often than prescribed. Do not take ADVAIR with other medicines that contain long-acting beta₂-agonists for any reason. Tell your doctor about medicines you take and about all of your medical conditions.
- ADVAIR DISKUS can cause serious side effects, including:
 - **serious allergic reactions.** Call your healthcare provider or get emergency medical care if you get any of the following symptoms of a serious allergic reaction: rash; hives; swelling of the face, mouth, and tongue; breathing problems.
 - **sudden breathing problems immediately after inhaling your medicine.**
 - **effects on heart:** increased blood pressure; a fast and irregular heartbeat; chest pain.
 - **effects on nervous system:** tremor; nervousness.
 - **reduced adrenal function (may result in loss of energy).**
 - **changes in blood (sugar, potassium, certain types of white blood cells).**
 - **weakened immune system and a higher chance of infections.** You should avoid exposure to chickenpox and measles, and, if exposed, consult your healthcare provider without delay. Worsening of existing tuberculosis, fungal, bacterial, viral, or parasitic infections, or ocular herpes simplex may occur.



ADVAIR DISKUS[®] 250/50
(fluticasone propionate 250 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)

- **lower bone mineral density.** This may be a problem for people who already have a higher chance of low bone density (osteoporosis).
- **eye problems including glaucoma and cataracts.** You should have regular eye exams while using ADVAIR.
- **pneumonia.** People with COPD have a higher chance of getting pneumonia. ADVAIR may increase the chance of getting pneumonia. Call your doctor if you notice any of the following symptoms: increase in mucus (sputum) production; change in mucus color; fever; chills; increased cough; increased breathing problems.
- **Common side effects of ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 for COPD include:** thrush in the mouth and throat, throat irritation, hoarseness and voice changes, viral respiratory infections, headache, muscle and bone pain.

*Measured by a breathing test in people taking ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50, compared with people taking either fluticasone propionate 250 mcg or salmeterol 50 mcg. Your results may vary.

†It is not known how anti-inflammatories work in COPD.

‡Restrictions apply. See ADVAIRCOPD.com for eligibility rules.

Please see Brief Summary of Important Safety Information about ADVAIR DISKUS on adjacent page.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

To get your first full prescription free and to save on refills,[‡] visit ADVAIRCOPD.com or call 1-877-200-4673.

GSK
for you

If you don't have prescription coverage and can't afford your medicines, visit GSKforYou.com or call 1-866-GSK-FOR-U (1-866-475-3678)

gsk GlaxoSmithKline

ADVAIR DISKUS® (fluticasone propionate and salmeterol inhalation powder)

BRIEF
SUMMARY

This summary does not take the place of talking to your healthcare provider about your medical condition or treatment. See full Prescribing Information for complete product information.

What is the most important information I should know about ADVAIR DISKUS?

ADVAIR DISKUS can cause serious side effects, including:

1. People with asthma who take long-acting beta₂-adrenergic agonist (LABA) medicines, such as salmeterol (one of the medicines in ADVAIR DISKUS), have an increased risk of death from asthma problems. It is not known whether fluticasone propionate, the other medicine in ADVAIR DISKUS, reduces the risk of death from asthma problems seen with salmeterol.
- Call your healthcare provider if breathing problems worsen over time while using ADVAIR DISKUS. You may need different treatment.
- Get emergency medical care if:
 - breathing problems worsen quickly and
 - you use your rescue inhaler medicine, but it does not relieve your breathing problems.
2. ADVAIR DISKUS should be used only if your healthcare provider decides that your asthma is not well controlled with a long-term asthma control medicine, such as inhaled corticosteroids.
3. When your asthma is well controlled, your healthcare provider may tell you to stop taking ADVAIR DISKUS. Your healthcare provider will decide if you can stop ADVAIR DISKUS without loss of asthma control. Your healthcare provider may prescribe a different asthma control medicine for you, such as an inhaled corticosteroid.
4. Children and adolescents who take LABA medicines may have an increased risk of being hospitalized for asthma problems.

What is ADVAIR DISKUS?

- ADVAIR DISKUS combines an inhaled corticosteroid medicine, fluticasone propionate (the same medicine found in FLOVENT®), and a LABA medicine, salmeterol (the same medicine found in SEREVENT®).
- Inhaled corticosteroids help to decrease inflammation in the lungs. Inflammation in the lungs can lead to asthma symptoms.
- LABA medicines are used in people with asthma and chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD). LABA medicines help the muscles around the airways in your lungs stay relaxed to prevent symptoms, such as wheezing and shortness of breath. These symptoms can happen when the muscles around the airways tighten. This makes it hard to breathe. In severe cases, wheezing can stop your breathing and cause death if not treated right away.
- ADVAIR DISKUS is used for asthma and COPD as follows:

Asthma

ADVAIR DISKUS is used to control symptoms of asthma and to prevent symptoms such as wheezing in adults and children aged 4 years and older.

ADVAIR DISKUS contains salmeterol (the same medicine found in SEREVENT). LABA medicines, such as salmeterol, increase the risk of death from asthma problems.

ADVAIR DISKUS is not for adults and children with asthma who are well controlled with an asthma control medicine, such as a low to medium dose of an inhaled corticosteroid medicine.

COPD

COPD is a chronic lung disease that includes chronic bronchitis, emphysema, or both. ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 is used long term, 2 times each day to help improve lung function for better breathing in adults with COPD. ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 has been shown to decrease the number of flare-ups and worsening of COPD symptoms (exacerbations).

Who should not use ADVAIR DISKUS?

Do not use ADVAIR DISKUS:

- to treat sudden, severe symptoms of asthma or COPD.

- if you have a severe allergy to milk proteins. Ask your doctor if you are not sure.

What should I tell my healthcare provider before using ADVAIR DISKUS?

Tell your healthcare provider about all of your health conditions, including if you:

- have heart problems
- have high blood pressure
- have seizures
- have thyroid problems
- have diabetes
- have liver problems
- have osteoporosis
- have an immune system problem
- are pregnant or planning to become pregnant. It is not known if ADVAIR DISKUS may harm your unborn baby.
- are breastfeeding. It is not known if ADVAIR DISKUS passes into your milk and if it can harm your baby.
- are allergic to any of the ingredients in ADVAIR DISKUS, any other medicines, or food products
- are exposed to chickenpox or measles

Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines you take including prescription and non-prescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. ADVAIR DISKUS and certain other medicines may interact with each other. This may cause serious side effects. Especially, tell your healthcare provider if you take ritonavir. The anti-HIV medicines NORVIR® (ritonavir capsules) Soft Gelatin, NORVIR (ritonavir oral solution), and KALETRA® (lopinavir/ritonavir) Tablets contain ritonavir.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list and show it to your healthcare provider and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

How do I use ADVAIR DISKUS?

Do not use ADVAIR DISKUS unless your healthcare provider has taught you and you understand everything. Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist if you have any questions.

- Children should use ADVAIR DISKUS with an adult's help, as instructed by the child's healthcare provider.
- Use ADVAIR DISKUS exactly as prescribed. Do not use ADVAIR DISKUS more often than prescribed. ADVAIR DISKUS comes in 3 strengths. Your healthcare provider has prescribed the one that is best for your condition.
- The usual dosage of ADVAIR DISKUS is 1 inhalation 2 times each day (morning and evening). The 2 doses should be about 12 hours apart. Rinse your mouth with water after using ADVAIR DISKUS.
- If you take more ADVAIR DISKUS than your doctor has prescribed, get medical help right away if you have any unusual symptoms, such as worsening shortness of breath, chest pain, increased heart rate, or shakiness.
- If you miss a dose of ADVAIR DISKUS, just skip that dose. Take your next dose at your usual time. Do not take 2 doses at one time.
- Do not use a spacer device with ADVAIR DISKUS.
- Do not breathe into ADVAIR DISKUS.
- While you are using ADVAIR DISKUS 2 times each day, do not use other medicines that contain a LABA for any reason. Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist if any of your other medicines are LABA medicines.
- Do not stop using ADVAIR DISKUS or other asthma medicines unless told to do so by your healthcare provider because your symptoms might get worse. Your healthcare provider will change your medicines as needed.
- ADVAIR DISKUS does not relieve sudden symptoms. Always have a rescue inhaler medicine with you to treat sudden symptoms. If you do not have an inhaled, short-acting bronchodilator, call your healthcare provider to have one prescribed for you.

Call your healthcare provider or get medical care right away if:

- your breathing problems worsen with ADVAIR DISKUS
- you need to use your rescue inhaler medicine more often than usual
- your rescue inhaler medicine does not work as well for you at relieving symptoms
- you need to use 4 or more inhalations of your rescue inhaler medicine for 2 or more days in a row

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- you use 1 whole canister of your rescue inhaler medicine in 8 weeks' time
- your peak flow meter results decrease. Your healthcare provider will tell you the numbers that are right for you.
- you have asthma and your symptoms do not improve after using ADVAIR DISKUS regularly for 1 week

What are the possible side effects with ADVAIR DISKUS?

- ADVAIR DISKUS can cause serious side effects, including:
 - See "What is the most important information I should know about ADVAIR DISKUS?"
 - serious allergic reactions. Call your healthcare provider or get emergency medical care if you get any of the following symptoms of a serious allergic reaction:
 - rash
 - hives
 - swelling of the face, mouth, and tongue
 - breathing problems
 - sudden breathing problems immediately after inhaling your medicine
 - effects on heart
 - increased blood pressure
 - a fast and irregular heartbeat
 - chest pain
 - effects on nervous system
 - tremor
 - nervousness
 - reduced adrenal function (may result in loss of energy)
 - changes in blood (sugar, potassium, certain types of white blood cells)
 - weakened immune system and a higher chance of infections
 - lower bone mineral density. This may be a problem for people who already have a higher chance of low bone density (osteoporosis).
 - eye problems including glaucoma and cataracts. You should have regular eye exams while using ADVAIR DISKUS.
 - slowed growth in children. A child's growth should be checked often.
 - pneumonia. People with COPD have a higher chance of getting pneumonia. ADVAIR DISKUS may increase the chance of getting pneumonia. Call your healthcare provider if you notice any of the following symptoms:
 - increase in mucus (sputum) production
 - change in mucus color
 - fever
 - chills
 - increased cough
 - increased breathing problems

Common side effects of ADVAIR DISKUS include:

Asthma:	COPD:
• upper respiratory tract infection	• thrush in the mouth and throat
• throat irritation	• throat irritation
• hoarseness and voice changes	• hoarseness and voice changes
• thrush in the mouth and throat	• viral respiratory infections
• bronchitis	• headache
• cough	• muscle and bone pain
• headache	
• nausea and vomiting	

In children with asthma, infections in the ear, nose, and throat are common.

Tell your healthcare provider about any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away.

These are not all the side effects with ADVAIR DISKUS. Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist for more information. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to the FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist for additional information about ADVAIR DISKUS. You can also contact the company that makes ADVAIR DISKUS (toll free) at 1-888-825-5249 or at www.advairstm.com.

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Health



Fever Pitch. Why this year's flu strain hit so early and so hard

By Alice Park

HOSPITALS IN BOSTON ARE restricting visitors and keeping a close eye on people in their lobbies who sneeze or cough, ready to turn them away if they seem too sick. Flu patients at a hospital in Allentown, Pa., are treated in a heated tent to keep the virus from spreading through wards and infecting patients with weakened immune systems.

Such extreme measures against what we think of as an ordinary illness are necessary as the U.S. struggles with what is officially a flu epidemic. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention applies that label when at least 7.2% of people infected with the flu die of that illness or pneumonia—a grim threshold we've barely crossed, at 7.3%. In an effort to stem the rising caseload, Boston's mayor declared a public-health emergency, and New York's governor

followed suit. The actions made more free flu vaccines available to residents, and that should help. While no flu shot is 100% effective, people immunized with this year's version have a 62% lower risk of having to go to the doctor for flu-related symptoms compared with the unvaccinated. Flu generally peaks in February, but with three months left to go in the season, the percentage of people treated for the flu is already triple that of last year's peak, and the virus is widespread in 47 states.

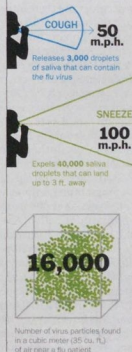
We had a similarly serious influenza season in 2009, when an H1N1 virus that had never been seen before made it difficult to develop a vaccine in time to prevent a flu pandemic. But this year the shot is a good match for the virus that is causing the most illnesses, H3N2. So why the surge in cases?

H3N2 is typically associated with more-severe fever, chills, muscle aches, coughing and headaches, although researchers can't explain why. That virulence, coupled with the relatively low vaccination rate—in most seasons, only about 35% of Americans get the shot, and this year is no exception—creates the ideal conditions for influenza to spread easily.

With the volume of cases so high, the familiar advice to protect yourself from getting sick is even more important. It's not too late to get a flu shot, although after you do, it takes about two weeks for your body's immune defenses to build up. And if you get sick, cover your coughs and sneezes with your elbow to prevent the virus from spreading. (See sidebar.) Influenza is notoriously unpredictable, and there's still time for the virus to find even more hosts.

Cover That Sneeze!

It's more than just manners: every achoo! (and cough too) represents an invisible zip line for flu viruses, spreading them at incredible speed



Ideas

What Free Costs A suicide fuels the online copyright fight

By Massimo Calabresi

AARON SWARTZ MADE ACCESS TO IDEAS a lifelong crusade. In adolescence, it drove him to become a top programmer. But as a young adult, it brought him face to face with a potential sentence of 35 years in prison on 13 counts of fraud, cybercrime and other charges after he allegedly stole a massive database of academic journals. On Jan. 11, as Swartz was months from trial and suffering from what friends say was a renewed bout of depression, his crusade came to an end when he took his life in his Brooklyn apartment. He was 26.

Despite his history of depression, friends say Swartz's death is the result of abuse by prosecutors seeking to make an example of him. "He was an enormously sweet and generous kid," says Harvard law professor Lawrence Lessig, who knew and mentored him for more than 10 years. Lessig says the prosecution "became overwhelming" and "too much to bear." The prosecutors and their supporters say they acted within their discretion and that the \$8 billion in annual lost revenue from U.S. copyright violations necessitates a tough line on computer-related intellectual-property crime. Idealistic loose cannon or Robin Hood of the open Internet, Swartz has come in death to personify the debate over how much information should be freely available and how aggressively the government should punish those who "liberate" it.

Swartz showed at age 14 early skills as a programmer, helping write the code for RSS, which allows people to subscribe to online information. A year earlier, he told the *Chicago Tribune* that his user-generated online encyclopedia called the Info Network, which predated Wikipedia, would remain ad-free because the Internet "was based on open standards and freedom not ads." He spent a year at Stanford University but left to found a company that merged with Reddit, the popular news and information portal.



Criminal? Swartz faced up to 35 years in prison

Once he was out of college, Swartz's activism took a political turn. In 2008 he used public libraries to download and post online nearly the entire government archive of federal-court filings, PACER, which then charged 8¢ a page. In a 2008 manifesto, Swartz said people should "take information, wherever it is stored, make our copies and share them with the world."

That is essentially what Swartz was accused of doing in 2010, when he allegedly broke into an MIT wiring closet and downloaded some 4.8 million documents from JSTOR, a private, subscription-based nonprofit repository of scholarly publications. Swartz felt the articles, some of which were produced with government funding, should be available to all. After he was caught, Swartz turned over the hard drives and said he had intended to give the information away. JSTOR has since made some of its collection freely available online, but U.S. Attorney Car-

men Ortiz said after Swartz's arrest, "Stealing is stealing, whether you use a computer command or a crowbar."

Swartz's fight for free ideas coincided with the rise of intellectual-property theft online. From 2010 to 2011, the federal government cracked down on such thefts, part of a 64% increase in cyber-crime indictments and a 71% rise in convictions. Defense attorneys complain that prosecutors coerce guilty pleas by loading on charges to increase the cost in money, time and stress for defendants. Prosecutors recently offered Swartz six months in jail if he pleaded guilty and were flexible about how and where that time would be served. His lawyers sought to reduce the charges to a series of misdemeanors, but prosecutors insisted on at least a felony charge. Swartz's father alleged at the funeral that his son was "killed by the government."

Swartz's death dramatically illuminates his lifelong push to increase access to ideas and innovations that could better the world, but it is not clear whether it has advanced that cause. In tribute, supporters have encouraged the release of copyrighted materials, and hackers have attacked MIT's network. The university is reviewing its role in the case. The government has expressed condolences and defended the prosecution.

Swartz's fight for free ideas coincided with the rise of intellectual-property theft online

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Tech

Bigger Picture. The supersize technology that will make your high-def TV obsolete

THE CONSUMER-ELECTRONICS industry thinks it knows what will persuade you to replace your high-definition TV: even more resolution. The emerging standard for next-generation video, 4K TV, packs four times as many pixels as today's highest-resolution sets. Also known as Ultra HD, the technology powers fantastically crisp, vivid new televisions at sizes of up to 110 in. Spectacular though it is, 4K may be years away from real-world living rooms. Right now, it's available only on a few giant TVs at giant prices: Samsung is taking preorders, in South Korea only, for an 85-in. set priced at \$38,000. LG, Panasonic, Samsung, Sony and Toshiba are ramping up their 4K lineups. Before 4K can go mainstream, everything from cable boxes to wi-fi networks will need an upgrade, since super-high-res images are massive bandwidth hogs. Hollywood too will have to start cranking out movies and movie stars suitable for an ultra-high-definition closeup.

—HARRY MCCracken

Ultra High-Def, Step by Step

1. Shoot



Sony F55 CineAlta 4K

2. Distribute



Sony BDP-S790 Blu-ray player

3. Display



HIGH-DEF



4K TV



AVERAGE HEIGHT OF A MAN
69.4 in.



WIDTH OF A MINI COOPER
75.3 in.



LARGEST 4K TV
110 in.

Right now there isn't enough ultra-high-def video available to fill a single cable channel. The industry is still dabbling with the new 4K cameras made by companies such as Red and Sony. Last summer's *The Amazing Spider-Man* was shot at 4K, and Fox Sports has experimented with it for instant replays.

Sony plans to launch a 4K download service this summer. But with quadruple the resolution, 4K video is too portly to fit on current Blu-ray discs for use with players like this Sony or to stream onto living-room computer screens via most existing networks. Tech upgrades like more efficient data-compression techniques are in the works.

On a mammoth TV, the benefits of 4K are eye-poppingly obvious. The smaller the set, the tougher it is to appreciate all those extra pixels. That's why the dinkiest current 4K TVs have 55-in. screens.

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Milestones



DIED

Eugene Patterson. Stalwart editor

By Howell Raines

As a skinny 21-year-old tank commander about to enter the Battle of the Bulge, Gene Patterson heard survival advice from the lips of General George S. Patton himself. The gist of it was, When fired upon, advance! This legendary Southern journalist, who died Jan. 12 in St. Petersburg, Fla., at 89, never stopped advancing. At the side of Ralph McGill, his mentor at the Atlanta *Constitution*, he won a Pulitzer Prize for defending free speech. He rightly regarded as his masterpiece his deadline column about the four children killed in the 1963 Birmingham, Ala., 16th Street Baptist Church bombing. Gene hired me in 1976 at the newspaper he built into a regional powerhouse, the St. Petersburg Times.

Like hundreds of others in the several newsrooms where he reigned for 40 years, I learned that he was a one-man graduate school. Two years with Gene was better than a Ph.D. in journalistic practice and ethics. He had the heart of a poet, the moral certainty of an Old Testament prophet and the thrusting gait of a boxer headed to the center of the ring. That's where he lived his life, in the service of great causes. As managing editor of the Washington *Post* in 1971, he urged Katharine Graham to defend the "soul" of her paper by publishing the Pentagon Papers. At his bedside a few hours before he died, I could think only of a well-worn phrase that Gene would have eschewed in his writing: Truly, we shall not see his like again. I fear the same can be said for his kind of newspapering.

Raines was the executive editor of the New York Times

DIED

Dr. Pete Linnerooth

Former Army psychologist

They buried onetime Army captain Pete Linnerooth on Jan. 14 at Minneapolis' Fort Snelling National Cemetery. You won't find him listed among the U.S. troops lost in Iraq since 2003. Yet the war killed Linnerooth as surely as if he'd been hit by a sniper's bullet. Then again, there's no roster of the lives the Army psychologist saved during his year there either—the hundreds of haunted minds he patched back together before his own failed him.

Few people have better understood the perverse alchemy that can turn the rush and glory of combat into a darkening cloud of anxiety and depression. Linnerooth watched as the military's suicide rate escalated to nearly one per day in 2012. But he also warned colleagues and reporters that even mental-health professionals are vulnerable. When he shot himself at home in Mankato, Minn., on Jan. 2, he became the first Army psychologist deployed in the post-9/11 wars known to die by suicide.

Linnerooth left Iraq three months early—"compassion fatigue," said Brock McNabb, who served alongside him. "Pete struggled with PTSD and depression after his deployment to Iraq," another Army comrade says. After his

five years in the Army, the VA granted him 100% disability for posttraumatic stress.

Back home, Linnerooth tried teaching psychology at Minnesota State University at Mankato but found it dispiriting. His 17-year marriage fell apart. He moved to California to work with veterans, then to Nevada to remarry and work for the VA there. But the VA let him go because he missed the deadline for getting a counseling license. As his second marriage foundered last summer, he returned to his native Minnesota, unemployed and adrift. He bounced among VA programs but never got the help he needed. "The resources aren't what they should be," Melanie, his widow, says. "The death toll for suicide is now higher than combat."

In Iraq, Specialist Rob Kumpf found talking with "Doc" eased his anger and sleeplessness. At home, remembering Linnerooth's words helped him battle PTSD. Now Sergeant Kumpf, he went on to serve in Afghanistan. "We do nothing for people like Pete who give their all to help those of us suffering," he says. "I hope he finds the peace in heaven that he could never find here on earth. Rest in peace, sir."

—MARK THOMPSON

Linnerooth, below right, in Baghdad in 2007; the Pentagon revealed the day he was buried that 349 U.S. troops killed themselves in 2012



Rana Foroohar



What, Me Worry?

Markets have no fear, which is reason enough to be scared

AS THE PRAGMATIC CONSERVATIVE economist Herbert Stein once said, "If something cannot go on forever, it will stop." I've been thinking about that saying a lot in relation to today's bull market and the complacency with which investors seem to view it. The VIX, or fear index—which measures investors' expectations of volatility in the stock market—is at its lowest ebb since 2007, before the financial crisis. Prices for all sorts of assets, even things like junk bonds, are soaring in a way that would seem to indicate blue skies over the global economy.

How is this possible, given that we barely dodged the fiscal cliff, must now navigate the debt-ceiling rapids and are seemingly stuck with sluggish 2% economic growth? Partly it reflects the fact that as bad as things are, they could be worse. We did avoid the cliff's worst damage. Europe isn't quite the disaster it was a year ago. And China is once again showing signs of growth. "After years of risks and bad news, people are getting comfortable with the idea that the worst is over," says Ruchir Sharma, head of emerging markets and global macro at Morgan Stanley.

Other signs support that notion. Many economists expected fiscal-cliff anxiety to tank retail sales and business spending in December, but the data trickling in show that didn't happen. In a report titled *Dude, Where's My Uncertainty Shock?* JPMorgan pointed out that consumer demand was stronger in the fourth quarter of 2012 than it was in the six months prior. People were spending more on everything from cars and clothes to furniture and restaurant meals. So much for worries over higher taxes or the growth-slowness effects of dysfunctional politics.

This should actually come as no sur-

prise, according to Sharma, who has examined the past 100 years of bull-market history. He says we're exactly where we ought to be in the economic cycle. Typically, by the fourth year of a recovery, stocks have more than doubled. In the fifth year, markets tend to rise about 10%, which is what many analysts predict for this year. In this context, the low fear index and bullish sentiment seem perfectly reasonable.



But there's a problem: while markets are reacting just as history tells us they should, the real economy is not. Putting aside a better-than-expected fourth quarter last year, we are still in the middle of the second weakest recovery in a century and the weakest one of the post-World War II era. McKinsey Global Institute estimates that it will take another 25 months for employment to reach pre-recession levels.

Just as worrisome is the disconnect between the fortunes of companies and the fortunes of workers, which has never been greater. Stock prices are far from a perfect proxy for the economy; they ulti-

mately reflect the earnings and earnings potential of large corporations. While 60% of the profits of the S&P 500 today come from large multinational manufacturing firms, those companies account for only about 15% of U.S. employment, far less than when outsourcing to nations with cheaper labor costs began on a large scale in the 1980s.

Many of these companies get an increasing share of their sales from abroad, some of them as much as half, while wages paid to U.S. workers remain flat. Put these facts together and it's clear that global gains for American multinationals are no guarantee of economic growth and job creation at home.

This is an important—and often overlooked—risk factor in the markets right now. At some point, as Sharma puts it, "you need stronger growth in the real economy for corporate earnings to go up." We may already be at a breaking point. Some big firms, like DuPont, have lowered profits and expectations. Meanwhile, the overseas growth they have come to depend on is either slowing (in the case of Europe) or uneven. Emerging markets used to move upward all together as a class. Now they are diverging from one another. Some, like Brazil, are totally stagnant. Others, like China,

are growing—but much more slowly than in the past, with huge bubbles that keep expanding. (If you think the Fed has pumped too much money into the U.S. economy, just look at the Middle Kingdom, where the money supply has tripled from \$5 trillion to \$15 trillion in four years.)

The bottom line is that it's no time to be lulled into complacency in the U.S. Markets may be telling us that investors' collective expectations of unpleasant surprises are at a record low. But expectations don't necessarily track reality—and fear and risk often have an inverse correlation.

Randall Kennedy



The Limits of Exceptionalism

Addressing America's flaws, as well as its glory, will make Obama a better President

BARACK OBAMA WILL BE SWORN into office Jan. 20 as only the seventh U.S. President to have been elected in consecutive terms with more than 50% of the vote. And yet he is still routinely charged with not being fully American and not embracing the idea of American exceptionalism. Because of his race, his name and his international parentage, Obama has had to work hard to assuage anxieties prompted by what some see as his otherness.

The patriotism of most Presidents is taken for granted. Not so with Obama. That may be why, even as he dramatically revises American history through his own success, he avoids challenging the myths that Americans live by. It isn't that he's not enough of an American exceptionalist; it's that he's too much of one.

During his first campaign, Obama

initially took the position that he would refrain from wearing the American-flag pin that virtually all presidential candidates wear. That departure from ritual, however, was only momentary and has been followed by few, if any, such reprises. Critics on the right complain about political correctness—excessive sensitivity to perceived racism, sexism and other bigotries—but the most powerful form of political correctness in America is patriotism that revels in national idolatry. Ambitious politicians take care not to run afoul of it. And so, in line with previous Presidents, Obama lauds the pioneers who “blazed” a westward trail but never mentions the systematic acts of ethnic cleansing by which the U.S. wrested lands from Indian nations. He praises the Founding Fathers, making no mention of the slaves who fled them or of the fact that many more blacks and Indians fought on the side of King

George than with George Washington.

Sure, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison countenanced slavery. But the consequence of their bargain with human bondage, Obama implies, redeemed them. After making a deal with Republicans over tax policy, Obama criticized the Democrats who had opposed it, remarking that “this country was founded on compromise.” Ironically, the first black President thus embraced the nation's Founding



Dual, eschewing the denunciations of abolitionists who maintained, in the words of William Lloyd Garrison, that the Constitution was “a covenant with death.”

Obama's sensibility is anything but countercultural. In his White House, the portrait of Andrew Jackson will likely continue to occupy an honored place, notwithstanding Old Hickory's depredations against Indians and his participation in the enslavement of blacks. In 2009 a group of scholars petitioned the President to forgo sending a wreath to the Arlington Confederate Memorial, a practice established by Woodrow Wilson in 1914. Noting that the memorial “was intended to legitimize secession and ... glorify the Confederacy,”

they asked Obama to stop honoring men who were willing to die to protect slavery. Obama continued the tradition—though he also sent a wreath to the African American Civil War Memorial, establishing a dubious equivalency.

Those who claim that Obama fails to assert American exceptionalism don't acknowledge the content of his speeches. He constantly posits that the U.S. is singularly virtuous, singularly destined to accomplish great things and thus singularly authorized to act in ways Americans would condemn in other nations. When he nominated Sonia Sotomayor to the Supreme Court, he did not stop with congratulating her on the hard work involved in her journey from the South Bronx to the

highest circles of the legal profession; he also reiterated one of his favorite myths—the vision of an America in which social limits are no match for plucky individuals. “No dream is beyond reach in the United States of America,” he declared, obscuring by reference to a remarkable instance of social mobility the heartbreaking inertia that millions of hardworking poor people know all too intimately.

This denialism—the militant and

concerted avoidance of America's deepest social ills—pervades the culture. Thus far, Obama has done all too little to grapple with that problem. He

has countless public opportunities to try to educate people in the U.S. and beyond about American realities. The President should not court political martyrdom; to insult potential supporters with condemnations of America's record would empower people who valorize chauvinism abroad and inequality at home. But bringing out the best in the American democratic project requires taking risks. One such risk is trusting that the American people can stand to hear more of the truth about their country's past and present. This President is exceptionally positioned to deliver it. ■

Kennedy is the Michael R. Klein Professor of Law at Harvard Law School

Joe Klein



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No Labels. No Agenda. Some Hope

Why, in one centrist group, Republicans and Democrats are talking to each other

FOR THOSE OF US WHO CONSIDER ourselves political moderates, life is a dispiriting slog, a sorry mix of rectitude and ineptitude. We simmer with anticipation each time a new bipartisan initiative or Gang (of Six, of... anything) is offered—and we are inevitably disappointed. The results are either too pedestrian, in a Solomonic slice-the-baby way, or far too ambitious. Abolish the Electoral College! Grant public funding for election campaigns! Start a third party! In 2012 there was a megafoolish, if well-funded, effort by a group called Americans Elect to raise an independent Cincinnatus to run for President via an Internet draft. It flopped, spectacularly. Oh, there are worthy think tanks with names like the Bipartisan Policy Center and Third Way. And there is the memory of a centrist research group, the Progressive Policy Institute, that provided Bill Clinton with many of his best proposals in 1992. But we moderates generally suffer from too much righteousness, too little populist grit and too many compound sentences.

I am, however, slightly optimistic again. On Jan. 10 I witnessed a public act of humility by 24 members of Congress, equally divided between Republicans and Democrats. The event was sponsored by a centrist group called No Labels. It was revolutionary not only in its humility but also in its agenda. There was no agenda. They simply agreed to start talking to one another. "I've been a member of the Senate for 14 years, and I've never been asked to attend a bipartisan meeting," said West Virginia Democrat Joe Manchin, who chairs the group with former Utah governor Jon Huntsman, a Republican. Furthermore, Manchin added, if you are caught seeking such meetings by your party leaders, you are accused of "guilt by conversation."

One of the Republican Congressmen told me a similar story: He was attending a meeting of the House Republican caucus. One member stood up and suggested that they reach out to reasonable Democrats to see if there were any areas of commonality on entitlement reform. He was immediately shot down by John Boehner, who said, "It can't work. It'll never work." (As if there's so much that is working.) I spoke to a dozen of the elected Problem Solvers, as they call



themselves, and each made the same point: the only bipartisan events they attended were chance one-on-one meetings in the darkened hallways of the Longworth Office Building. "Our colleagues think," this Congressman added, "that we live on a knife's edge of idealism and naiveté."

You may be forgiven for thinking, How incredibly pathetic. And also for thinking, How did it get this bad? Actually, it's been a 40-year process. Former Republican House minority leader Bob Michel once told me that things started going downhill when committee meetings moved from long narrow tables, where Republicans and Democrats had to look directly at each other, to fancy banquets, where the members sit, segregated, facing in the same direction—toward the television


cameras. There's more to it than that, obviously. There's the rise of special-interest money. There's gerrymandering, which has become a noxious computerized art, producing more than 300 "safe" districts—safe for re-election, if you strictly adhere to the whims of your party's most extreme zealots. There was Newt Gingrich, who saw politics as war by other means and almost single-handedly destroyed the comfy "my esteemed colleague" collegiality of the House. And then there was the lockstep liberalism of the assorted identity caucuses. And then there was the Tea Party.

Given the paralysis, the No Labels crowd has decided that the proper therapy is baby

steps. The Problem Solvers have agreed only to meet, not necessarily to back anything substantive. They do support two rather snappy procedural proposals. The first is called No Budget, No Pay. Congress hasn't actually adopted a budget resolution since 2009. Representative Jim Cooper, a Tennessee Democrat, figured that if his colleagues couldn't perform the most basic function of their job by the beginning of a fiscal year, they

shouldn't be paid. The second idea, also snappy, is the Five-Day Workweek. Most members show up on Monday nights, leave on Thursday nights and spend the rest of their time in their districts, raising money and raising money.

Yes, again: laughably pathetic but memorable enough, perhaps, to make an impression on the public. There are, of course, grander dreams beyond the baby steps. "Once we start meeting together, there's some low-hanging fruit that most Democrats and Republicans agree on," says Congressman Peter Welch, a Vermont Democrat. And there is the higher-hanging fruit, like entitlement reform, that may become more accessible if relationships, and trust, are built. Such modest moderation merits, I believe, a molecule of hope. ■



SPECIAL REPORT

THE NEXT

WILL A NEW CAMPAIGN FOR GUN LAWS QUELL THE MASS SHOOTING?



GUN FIGHT

THINGS THAT ARE ROUTINE IN AMERICA? BY MICHAEL SCHERER

THE NEXT GREAT AMERICAN GUN FIGHT

began this month with handshakes and smiles in a reunion of old foes at the Vice President's ceremonial office. Joe Biden knew the drill. Two decades ago, he led the last major gun-control effort in the Senate, enacting a 10-year ban on sales of certain semiautomatics and imposing background checks for gun purchasers using licensed dealers. It was a defining experience. "Guns! Guns! Guns!" he called out from the Senate floor in August 1994. "The single most contentious issue in the 22 years I have been here that relates to the criminal-justice system."

Now it was starting again, in another gilded room and with many of the same players still sitting on opposite sides of the table, including James Jay Baker, a top advocate for the National Rifle Association. The Vice President's views on guns hadn't changed much over the years: "The NRA gained power, and he gained disdain for them," explains one former aide. But Biden arrived, as always, looking to win the room.

So he began with charm, praising Baker for his fairness regarding some issue they both worked on in Delaware. He made a crack to the other gun-owner advocates—"gunners," he used to call them—about the difficulty of getting Hollywood and the video-game industry to talk about their addition to violence. Then he laid out the contours of the fight to come, deflecting the harshest policy disagreements to his boss's judgment. "I am the Vice President, not the President," he said.

Biden wanted to send a message, one he had been honing since December in meetings with cops, gun-control groups, clergy, mayors, educators and medical professionals. Ever since President Obama decided to pursue new gun controls after the massacre of 20 first-graders and six staff

310
MILLION
ESTIMATED NUMBER
OF FIREARMS IN U.S.
CIVILIAN CIRCULATION



55
MILLION
GUN-OWNING
VOTERS IN 2008



members at Sandy Hook Elementary, Biden and his staff knew they faced an uphill battle in Congress. Democrats from rural districts remain wary of gun restrictions, and the Republican House is so dysfunctional that it can't even pass its own bills, let alone one written by the White House. Even Obama treated guns as swing-state kryptonite during his re-election campaign, hardly mentioning the issue on the trail.

So the public fact-finding mission that Biden undertook in late December was given a second, more vital purpose: to lay the groundwork for a new grassroots movement, a lasting national campaign that would bring together various interest groups to win new limits on firearms—new penalties for gun trafficking, new prosecutions of gun crimes, limits on the types of guns available for sale, requirements for background checks for private and gun-show purchases, regulations for ammunition and limits on the size of gun magazines.

Biden and Obama laid their proposal before the public Jan. 16, with more than a hint of other battles to come. The President immediately signed 23 Executive Orders to prevent future gun violence and proposed new legislation that would, if enacted, amount to the biggest change in gun laws since 1968. "This is our first task as a society—keeping our children safe," Obama said. "This is how we will be judged."

The White House does not expect to win many judgments soon. Instead it wants to change the entire conversation about gun politics in America. Republicans in both chambers, resistant to betraying a key constituency, will have to feel the sting of sustained public outrage for the effort to succeed. And Democrats will have to risk short-term ballot-box backlash and take votes they too have resisted for at least 20 years. No one expects either campaign to be easy. "It falls into the larger context of the Republicans' fighting rearguard battles on immigration and the role of government and on this," said one Administration official about the coming gun fight. "That's going to be hard to sustain over time."

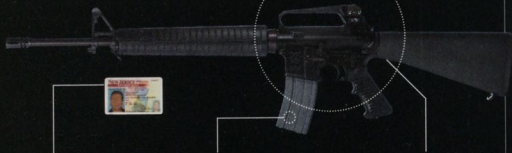
But even some Republicans admit that the Newtown, Conn., massacre may have changed the fundamental chemistry of gun politics in the U.S. Before the end of the year, polls were shifting slightly, showing majorities in the country in favor of new regulations on assault weapons, high-capacity magazines and universal background



**'I HAVE NO
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BUT I ALSO
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—JOE BIDEN

OBAMA'S PROPOSALS. A MIX OF NEW LAWS AND EXECUTIVE ORDERS



UNIVERSAL BACKGROUND CHECKS

An estimated 40% of gun transactions are handled privately, exempt from checks required for sales through federally licensed dealers

Controversy Gun-rights advocates say checks fail to rein in the black market

Action Possible. The President will issue an order requiring the feds to make data available to the background-check system and encourage states to share information, but legislation would still be required to achieve checks on all sales

HIGH-CAPACITY CLIPS

Shooters at Virginia Tech, Tucson, Aurora and Newtown all used magazines holding more than 10 rounds of ammunition, enabling rapid, uninterrupted fire

Controversy The NRA has described the clips as "standard equipment for self-defense handguns and other firearms"

Action Unlikely. While several states limit high-capacity clips, the votes in Congress do not yet exist to restrict magazine sales

ASSAULT-WEAPONS SALES BAN

More than a third of U.S. police departments have reported an increase in criminals' use of assault weapons since the 10-year federal ban on sales expired in 2004

Controversy Gun advocates have dismissed a reinstatement of the sales ban as an ineffective "feel-good" proposal

Action Unlikely. NRA president David Keene and Senate majority leader Harry Reid have said Congress is unlikely to pass a sales ban

A BRIEF HISTORY OF FEDERAL GUN LAWS

From America's founding, personal freedom and public safety have competed in the creation of federal gun policy

1791 The Constitution explicitly protects the right to "keep and bear" arms in the **Second Amendment**, grounding it in the need for "well-regulated" militias



1934 To curb gangland violence, Congress taxes machine guns and other weapons popular with criminals like Al Capone under the

National Firearms Act

1968 The assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy prompt tougher regulation of interstate firearms commerce in the **Gun Control Act**, which bars weapons sales to some criminals, the mentally disabled and stalkers



1986 Concern about an overreaching ATF spurs a loosening of policy in the **Firearm Owners' Protection Act**



1993 The **Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act** requires background checks for

purchases from federally licensed dealers (but not private, unlicensed sellers)

1994-2004 **The Assault Weapons Ban** outlaws the sale of semiautomatic guns with certain features. The ban expired in 2004



OTHER ACTIONS



Gun trafficking

The White House is encouraging Congress to explicitly outlaw straw purchasing, or lying on paperwork about the actual buyers and sellers of a firearm



School safety

A \$150 million program would hire 1,000 new school resource officers and counselors. Police departments would get incentives for hiring cops to work in schools



Mental health

A \$15 million project would train teachers in responding to mental illness; \$40 million would go to districts to help refer students to mental-health services



Media violence

The President will ask Congress to provide \$10 million for research on the link between violence and video games and other widely seen media images



Record keeping

Federal law-enforcement agencies will be required to trace all guns recovered in investigations both to solve crimes and to uncover trafficking

checks. A TIME/CNN poll found in mid-January that 55% of the country supported stricter gun control, while 44% opposed it. As Biden put it before his meeting with the gun-owner groups, "There is nothing that has gone to the heart of the matter more than the visual image people have of little 6-year old kids riddled—not shot by a stray bullet but riddled, riddled—with bullet holes in their classroom." In his meetings with the gun lobbyists, Biden asked his guests to consider the shifting terrain after Sandy Hook. Even evangelical leaders, he said, traditionally a source of Republican influence, were expressing concern about guns. "It's going the other way," he told the men across the table. It was a warning and, in its way, a threat.

KISS MY CONSTITUTION

FOR BAKER AND THE REST OF THE NRA BRASS, THE Biden effort had the feel of a dark prophecy finally fulfilled. For a year, NRA executive vice president Wayne LaPierre had been warning Americans of "a massive Obama conspiracy to deceive voters and hide his true intentions to destroy the Second Amendment." He said gun owners needed to ready themselves for an assault on their rights if Obama was re-elected. And the uptick in gun and ammunition purchases across the country after the election suggested that many gun owners agreed. At rallies LaPierre would warn that Americans had been lulled to sleep in the first term. "That lying, conniving Obama crowd can kiss our Constitution!" he would call out to applause. Now it was happening.

"They see this as their best shot, and it is a shot that they are taking, and they are coming right at us," David Keene, the NRA's president, said a few days later in an interview with TIME. The group, which says it has more than 4 million members and spent about \$20 million in the 2012 election cycle, was getting ready—reviewing the polls, keeping in touch with its members and calibrating message strategy. "We're doing all the things you would do if you were expecting a really serious battle," he said.

Keene welcomed some of the ideas Biden was preparing, like increased federal funding for school security and more aggressive prosecution for felons who illegally attempt to buy weapons. Biden was even willing to entertain an expansion of the background-check system for gun shows, where roughly 40% of gun sales take place. "I'm interested

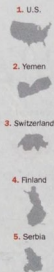
FEDERALLY LICENSED
FIREARMS DEALERS
IN THE U.S.

129,817

Of those:



RANKING OF GUNS
PER CAPITA



to see how such a proposal would be workable," he said. But he expressed concern about the entire approach of the Administration and about anything that sought to limit the types of firearms and magazines available for law-abiding citizens. "We are saying the question that Americans are asking is 'How do we protect our kids?' The question is not 'How do we ban guns we don't like?'"

Most worrisome for the NRA was the clear sense that something else had changed since the 1990s, something Biden didn't harp on in the meeting but was counting on nonetheless: leverage. "They, for the first time, have money and coordination that they did not have before," Keene said. Millionaires and billionaires were stepping forward. Gun-victim groups were organizing. Social-networking campaigns were being prepared. Celebrities had been recruited to carry the message. This new fight over guns would be fought over old fault lines but on new terrain, with new tools, many of which were just proved very effective in the heat of a nationwide campaign. Biden, this time, had backup. "The public wants us to act," he said.

"THIS IS DIFFERENT"

ON THE DAY OF THE SANDY HOOK SHOOTING, MARK Kelly, the husband of former Representative Gabby Giffords, was traveling in China. He awoke in a Beijing hotel at 3 a.m., saw the news on television and called his wife, who was in Arizona, continuing her recovery from the gunshot wound to her brain—the work of another madman with a high-capacity gun. She was shaken, changed. "She said, 'We need to do something. We've got to stop just talking about this,'" Kelly remembers.

Until then, the couple had decided to avoid the activist path, treating the 2011 Phoenix shooting largely as a personal trauma that needed to be dealt with in private. "It's not what we wanted to do," he said. But now they went all-in, drawing up plans for two new organizations: a nonprofit to build grassroots support for changes to gun laws and a super PAC to run ads supporting members of Congress on the issue. Kelly decided to start working full time on the effort and began calling those he thought could help.

One of his first calls was to Steve Mostyn, a wealthy trial-lawyer friend from Houston who happens to be one of the biggest contributors to Democratic super PACs. Like Kelly and Giffords, Mostyn is a gun owner. He sleeps with a handgun

by his bed, in a safe that opens by his fingerprint. He has a gun range on his West Texas ranch and invites friends out to shoot. But when Kelly called, Mostyn had just dropped off his 5-year-old daughter at school. "I told him it was time," Mostyn says.

The subject of gun laws was on his mind even before Sandy Hook. A few months earlier, he bought a couple of pistols, both with high-capacity magazines, and 3,000 rounds of ammunition for his gun collection at a local gun store. "The kid who walks me out to the car says to me, 'It looks like you are going to start a war,'" Mostyn says, noting his shock at how easy it was to stock up on enormous amounts of lethal firepower.

"I'm not anti-gun. I'm just not pro-dumbass," he continues, citing the more than 30,000 Americans who die every year from guns, mostly from suicide. "We've got a gun problem. That's what differentiates us from other cultures." He told Kelly he would seed the new group, which they called Americans for Responsible Solutions, with \$1 million and begin fundraising with a goal of more than \$14 million to support members of Congress in the 2014 elections who cast tough gun votes. "If a representative wants to vote their conscience, we are not going to allow you to bully," he said of the NRA. "We will counter."

At the same time, in New York City, Mayor Michael Bloomberg was working from the same playbook. With a net worth estimated at \$25 billion, his contribution was potentially far greater than Mostyn's. In 2012 he challenged Mitt Romney and Obama to lay out their plans for curbing gun violence. Neither took Bloomberg up on the offer, but he went ahead and seeded a super PAC of his own, Independence USA, to flex his muscle on the gun issue. The group spent about \$10 million on five races around the country and won four, including the primary defeat of a veteran pro-NRA Democratic Representative in California, Joe Baca. Another group funded by Bloomberg, Mayors Against Illegal Guns, began an advertising campaign called Demand a Plan, with spots running in communities that had been affected by gun violence.

"The NRA is only powerful if you and I let them be powerful," Bloomberg tells TIME. He says he wants to force votes on Capitol Hill so he can take the issue to the 2014 congressional elections. "I want the Congress to have to stand up and say, 'I'm with the NRA and support killing our children' or 'No.' And if the answer is, 'I'm going to take on that

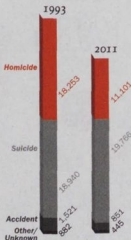
fight,' I've got their back," he says. He will not say how much more money he will spend, other than that it will be a substantial sum. "He described the \$10 million as putting his toe in the water," says Howard Wolfson, one of Bloomberg's political advisers. "I don't know what the full foot is worth."

Other groups are also organizing. The Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence raised \$5 million since late December and announced a new ad campaign built around the slogan "We are better than this." A coalition of liberal gun-violence groups targeted North Dakota Senator Heidi Heitkamp with ads last month after the Democrat criticized the President's proposals, and California Senator Dianne Feinstein, who authored the 1994 ban on certain semiautomatic guns, is planning her own media push for the end of January. "This is different," she says. "I did not get calls about 'How do we organize?' I get those now."

But the opposition to gun control has grown stronger as well. Compared with the early 1990s, the NRA has strengthened its hand in the halls of Congress, and since Sandy Hook it has added 250,000 new members. More Americans agree with the positions of the NRA than disagree, in the new TIME/CNN poll, and of the half of people with guns in their homes, a majority feel that the government is trying to take their firearms away, even though Obama has not proposed any such measure. "Stand and fight," runs the tagline of a new television ad the NRA released in advance of the Biden task-force announcement. The spot calls Obama an "elite hypocrite" and attacks him for supporting armed guards for his daughters but not at other schools, a deceptive charge given the President's decision to increase federal funding for school security. (In response, the White House denounced the ad as "repugnant and cowardly" for mentioning the President's children.) Keene suggests more tough talk is on the way and says he is actively seeking wealthy donors to counter the new money on the left.

The landscape in Congress, meanwhile, tilts against new regulation. The assault-weapons ban passed the Senate in 1993 with 56 votes. The thought of filibustering that proposal was seen at the time as out of bounds. That is probably no longer the case. In the Senate, Democratic majority leader Harry Reid, who has long supported gun owners, has discouraged the idea of trying to renew the assault-weapons ban. The key question for the

U.S. GUN DEATHS,
BY REASON



5,459,240

FIREARMS
MANUFACTURED
IN THE U.S. IN 2010



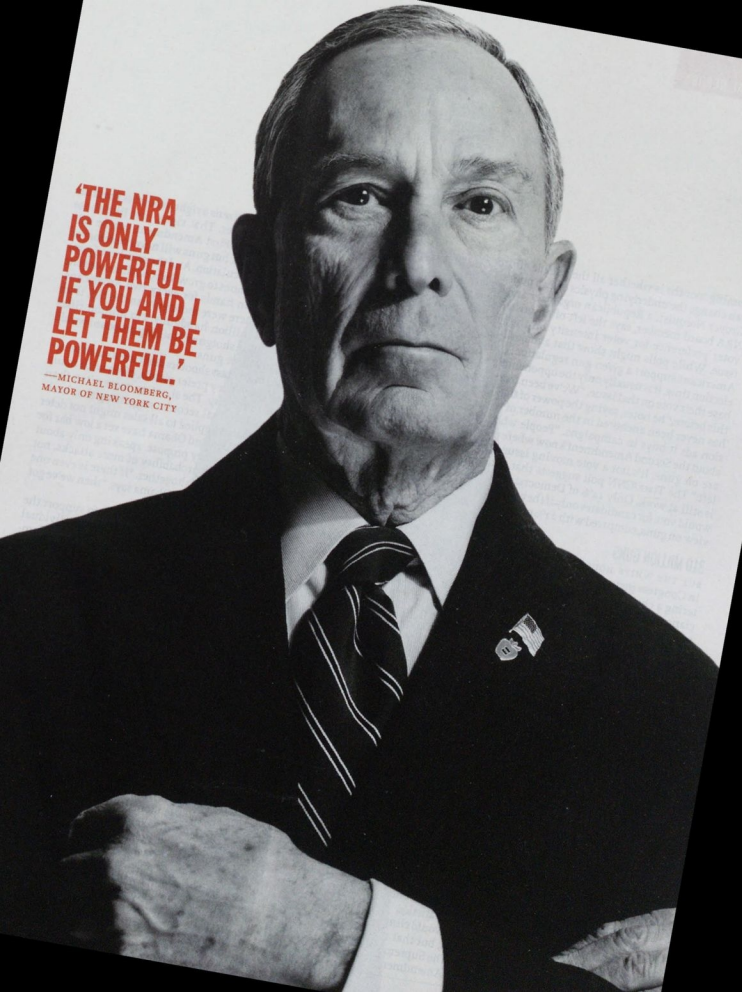
nearly all (95%)
for the U.S.
market

3,252,404

FIREARMS
IMPORTED TO THE
U.S. IN 2010

**'THE NRA
IS ONLY
POWERFUL
IF YOU AND I
LET THEM BE
POWERFUL.'**

—MICHAEL BLOOMBERG,
MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY



coming months is whether all the outside efforts can change the underlying physics of gun politics. Grover Norquist, a Republican organizer and an NRA board member, says the left often mistakes voter preference for voter intensity on the gun issue. While polls might show that a majority of Americans support a given gun regulation, come election time, it is usually only the opponents who base their vote on that issue. "We've been through this before," he notes, saying the power of the NRA has never been anchored in the number of television ads it buys in campaigns. "People who care about the Second Amendment know where people are on guns. It's not a vote-moving issue on the left." The TIME/CNN poll suggests that dynamic is still at work. Only 14% of Democrats said they would vote for candidates only if they shared their view on guns, compared with 22% of Republicans.

310 MILLION GUNS

BUT THE WHITE HOUSE IS NOT COUNTING VOTES in Congress just yet. It is counting instead on fostering a change in attitudes that will force politicians to take notice. "There will be pundits and politicians and special-interest lobbyists publicly warning of a tyrannical all-out assault on liberty," Obama said when he announced his recommendations. "The only way we will be able to change is if their audience, their constituents, their memberships say this time must be different."

To do that, the White House will have to sell the idea that its solutions will address the problem of mass shootings. But on that most important question, the verdict is vague. For decades, the frequency of mass shootings and the number of gun-related suicides in the U.S. have been consistent, while gun homicides have declined with the general crime rate. On average, there are 20 shootings a year with more than four victims killed, according to James Alan Fox, a professor at Northeastern University in Boston. On the same day that Biden met with the gun industry, a 16-year-old walked into his high school in Southern California and fired two rounds from a shotgun, allegedly trying to kill two students he believed were bullying him. He hit one of his targets and missed the second, killing no one, so the crime will not be counted in the statistics.

Eliminating all firearms in the U.S. would eliminate the ability to kill with firearms, but that is not anything like a realistic option. The Supreme Court ruled in 2008 that the Second Amendment

NUMBER OF SHOTS
AN AR-15 IS
CAPABLE OF FIRING
PER MINUTE IN
SEMI-AUTOMATIC MODE



45
ROUNDS



PERCENTAGE OF U.S.
HOUSEHOLDS
WITH A GUN IN
JANUARY 2013



49%

bestows on U.S. citizens a right to possess firearms for lawful purposes. That right, just like those guaranteed in the First Amendment, can be subject to restrictions, but guns will never be removed from civilian circulation. And the number of guns out there continues to grow. In 1968 there was one gun in civilian hands for every two Americans. As of 2009, there were more guns in the U.S. than people: 114 million handguns, 110 million rifles and 86 million shotguns. Nothing proposed would take away those guns.

And most mass shooters don't use assault weapons anyway. They prefer pistols, often with many bullets in the clip. The shooters, more often than not, lack criminal records, suggesting that background checks applied to all sales might not deter them. But Biden and Obama have set a low bar for the legislation they propose, speaking only about diminishing the probability of more attacks, not eliminating them altogether. "If there is even one life that can be saved," Obama says, "then we've got an obligation to try."

On that score, there is evidence to support the idea that more rules might prevent individual cases of mass violence or at least lessen the damage. The disturbed man who shot Giffords was tackled while reloading his gun, having spent 33 rounds. Nine-year-old Christina-Taylor Green was shot sometime after bullet No. 12, says Kelly, who has reviewed the criminal records. "If Jared Loughner didn't have access to a high-capacity magazine, there would be less people dead," he says.

Improving the scope and quality of background checks, with better mental health and more recent criminal records, could help prevent criminal and disturbed individuals from acquiring weapons. Also, better coordination between schools, mental-health officials and the police could flag potential shooters. Both Loughner and James Holmes, the movie-theater shooter in Aurora, Colo., raised alarm bells at their respective schools before they struck. Obama has promised to pursue several education efforts about mental illness and guns as part of his Executive actions.

But the big questions on gun control will soon move out of Washington and be placed before the American people. "I will put everything I've got into this, and so will Joe," said Obama. "But I've got to tell you that the only way we can change is if the American people demand it." It will be a long fight. But it is a fight that has begun again. ■



**'WE NEED
TO DO
SOMETHING.
WE'VE GOT
TO STOP
JUST TALKING
ABOUT THIS.'**

—GABBY GIFFORDS, FORMER
REPRESENTATIVE, TO HER
ASTRONAUT HUSBAND
MARK KELLY

TIME/CNN POLL A NATION DIVIDED ON GUNS

Do you or anyone
in your household
own a gun?



49%
YES



49%
NO

If you own a gun,
why do you have it?

41%
SPORT

32%
PROTECTION

8%
OTHER

CRACKING DOWN

Do you favor or oppose
stricter gun-control laws?

55%
FAVOR
37%
STRONGLY FAVOR

44%
OPPOSE
27%
STRONGLY OPPOSE

How would you describe
the ease of buying guns
under existing laws?

56%
TOO
EASY

40%
ABOUT
RIGHT

3%
TOO
DIFFICULT

WHO'S TO BLAME?

What is the primary cause
of gun violence in America?

37%
WAYS PARENTS
RAISE THEIR
CHILDREN

37%
INFLUENCES
OF POP
CULTURE

23%
AVAILABILITY
OF GUNS

STATES TAKE ACTION

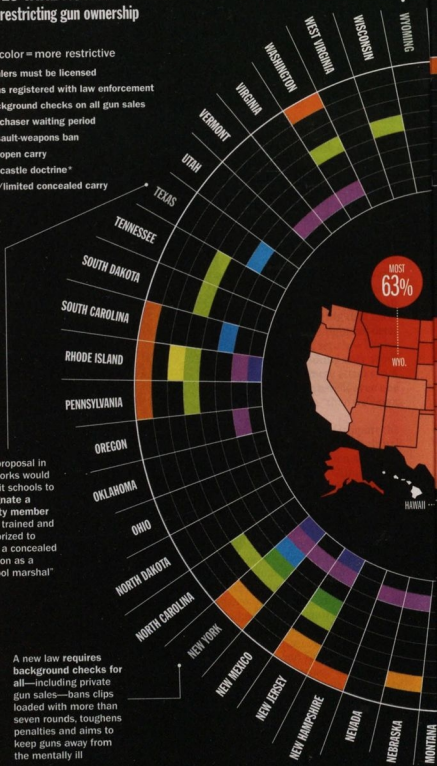
Laws restricting gun ownership

More color = more restrictive

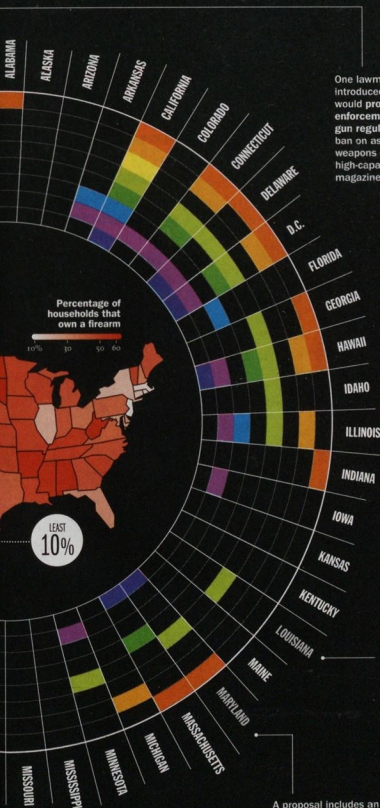
- Dealers must be licensed
- Guns registered with law enforcement
- Background checks on all gun sales
- Purchaser waiting period
- Assault-weapons ban
- No open carry
- No castle doctrine*
- No/limited concealed carry

One proposal in the works would permit schools to designate a faculty member to be trained and authorized to carry a concealed weapon as a "school marshal"

A new law requires background checks for all—including private gun sales—bans clips loaded with more than seven rounds, toughens penalties and aims to keep guns away from the mentally ill



*Castle doctrine refers to laws protecting a right to use deadly force in places where a person has a legal right to be. Notes: Background checks apply to all firearms sales, including private and gun-show transactions. Waiting periods apply to purchases of handguns, long guns or both. Sources: ATF, Law Center to Prevent Gun Violence; NRA; Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System, 2002. TIME Graphics by Andrea Ford and Leo Testa



One lawmaker has introduced a bill that would prohibit enforcement of federal gun regulations like a ban on assault weapons or high-capacity magazines in the state

Governor Bobby Jindal says he will introduce legislation that would authorize his state to report mental-health eligibility to the National Instant Criminal Background Check System

A proposal includes an assault-weapons ban, a limit on magazine size and a requirement that most gun buyers provide state police with fingerprints

BACKGROUND CHECKS

Would you favor a background check for a gun buyer who purchases from ...

92% A GUN STORE
87% A GUN SHOW
75% A PRIVATE SELLER

GUNS AND AMMO

Would you favor the following proposals to reduce gun violence?

69% REQUIRED GUN REGISTRATION
58% BAN ON HIGH-CAPACITY CLIPS
56% BAN ON ASSAULT WEAPONS
52% RESTRICT AMOUNT OR TYPE OF AMMUNITION PURCHASES

Would you favor or oppose putting armed guards in every school?

54% FAVOR
45% OPPOSE

THE GUN LOBBY

Overall, do you agree or disagree with the positions of the NRA?

48% AGREE
42% DISAGREE

POLITICS AND VOTING

How important is the gun-control issue in your voting decisions?

62% IT'S JUST ONE OF MANY FACTORS
19% I VOTE ONLY FOR CANDIDATES WHO SHARE MY VIEWS
18% IT'S NOT A MAJOR ISSUE

This USA, CNN, NBC Interactive poll was conducted by telephone Jan. 14-15 among a median sample of 654 adult Americans. The margin of error for the entire sample is 3.5 percentage points; but higher for subgroups. The full questionnaire and trend data may be found at www.abc.com

SPECIAL REPORT

A THIRD OF U.S. PUBLIC

SCHOOLS HAVE ARMED

GUARDS. AFTER NEWTOWN,

MORE MAY GET THEM.

BUT DO THEY MAKE

KIDS SAFER? THE ANSWER

WILL SURPRISE YOU

BY AMANDA RIPLEY

YOUR BRAIN UNDER FIRE

Illustration by Joe Magee for TIME



O

D5

K5
D2

O

D5

K4
D3

K4
D3

K3
D5

M

K2
D4

X5

K5
D2

K5
D2

K2
D4

O

K4
D3

K5
D2

K4
D3

IN THE ROILING NATIONAL SET-TO OVER WHETHER guns would make schools safer, most of the debate has been a caricature of itself. One side wants to install guns in every school, and the other wants to banish them. "I wish to God [the principal] had had an M-4 in her office, locked up," Republican Representative Louie Gohmert of Texas said on Fox News after the Newtown, Conn., school massacre, "so when she heard gunfire, she pulls it out...and takes his head off before he can kill those precious kids."

But the research on actual gunfights, the kind that happen not in a politician's head but in fluorescent-lit stairwells and strip-mall restaurants around America, reveals something surprising. Winning a gunfight without shooting innocent people typically requires realistic, expensive training and a special kind of person, a fact that has been strangely absent in all the back-and-forth about assault-weapon bans and the Second Amendment.

In the New York City police department, for example, officers involved in gunfights typically hit their intended targets only 18% of the time, according to a Rand study. When they fired 16 times at an armed man outside the Empire State Building last summer, they hit nine bystanders and left 10 bullet holes in the suspect—a better-than-average hit ratio. In most cases, officers involved in shootings experience a kaleidoscope of sensory distortions including tunnel vision and a loss of hearing. Afterward, they are sometimes surprised to learn that they have fired their weapons at all.

"Real gun battles are not *Call of Duty*," says Ryan Millbern, who responded to an active-shooter incident and an armed bank robbery among other calls during his decade as a police officer in Colorado. Millbern, a member of the National Rifle Association, believes there is value in trained citizens' carrying weapons for defensive purposes. He understands what the NRA's Wayne LaPierre meant when he said, "The only thing that stops a bad guy with a gun is a good guy with a gun." But he knows from experience that in a life-or-death encounter, a gun is only as good as its user's training.

Under sudden attack, the brain does not work the way we think it will. Millbern has seen grown men freeze under threat, like statues dropped onto the set of a horror movie. He has struggled to perform simple functions at shooting scenes, like unlocking a switch on a submachine gun while directing people to safety. "I have heard arguments that an armed teacher could and would respond to an active shoot-

YEARLY ODDS OF A U.S. STUDENT BEING KILLED AT SCHOOL

1 in 3
MILLION



YEARLY ODDS OF AN ADULT BEING HIT BY LIGHTNING

1 in 1
MILLION

NUMBER OF TIMES GUNS ARE USED IN SELF-DEFENSE EACH YEAR IN THE U.S.

180,000



2 in 3

RATIO OF SHOOTERS WHO ATTACK THEIR OWN COMMUNITIES

er in the same way a cop would. That they would hear gunshots, run toward the sound and then engage the shooter," Millbern writes in an e-mail from Baghdad, where he now works as a bomb-detection K-9 handler. "I think this is very unrealistic."

As lawmakers in at least seven states debate whether to allow teachers to carry firearms in school (something already allowed in Utah and Texas), it is worth considering: What happens in the human brain during a gunfight? And how much training would armed teachers or security guards need to prevail?

THE ADRENALINE SURGE

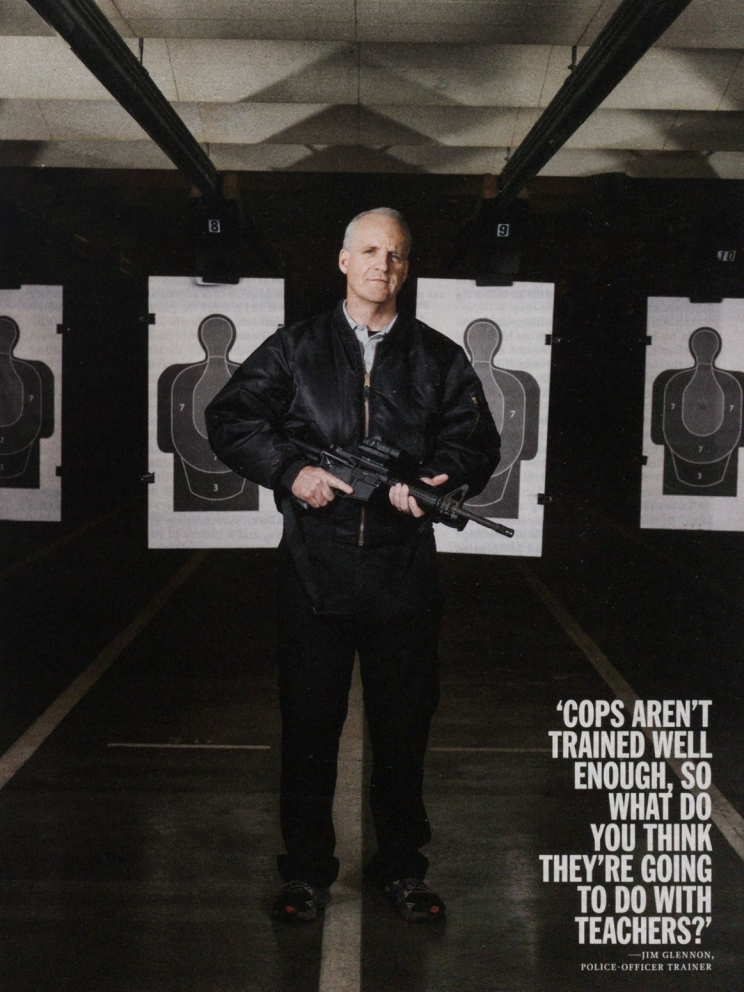
AT 3 P.M. ONE AUTUMN DAY IN 2004, JIM GLENNON found himself being shot at without warning. He was a lieutenant, a third-generation cop who had decided on the spur of the moment to help out on a routine shoplifting call. The suspect, a white man in his mid-50s, had walked out of a liquor store with a bottle of vodka without paying for it, and the police had tracked his license plate to a condo complex in a suburb of Chicago.

The officers knocked on the door at the end of a long hallway and got no response. After a few minutes, Glennon started to suggest they come back with a warrant. That was when the man threw open the door and began firing a black snub-nosed revolver from three feet away.

Glennon was a police-academy trainer, unusually well schooled in survival skills. But from the moment he saw the revolver, his mind entered a state unlike anything he'd experienced before. "Oh s---! Gun!" he said, spinning his body hard to the left, missing a bullet by inches or less.

Without his conscious knowledge, the sight of the gun had sent a signal to his brain stem, passing a message to his amygdala—the primal, almond-shaped mass of nuclei that controls the fear response from deep within the brain's temporal lobe. The amygdala, in turn, triggered a slew of changes throughout Glennon's body. His blood vessels constricted so that he would bleed less if he got wounded. His heart rate shot up. A surge of hormones charged through his system, injecting power to his major muscle groups should he need to fight or flee.

His first actual thought was that the gun must have had only five or six rounds. He knew this because it reminded him of the revolver his grandfather gave his father years earlier. As he and a fellow officer turned and began racing down



**'COPS AREN'T
TRAINED WELL
ENOUGH, SO
WHAT DO
YOU THINK
THEY'RE GOING
TO DO WITH
TEACHERS?'**

—JIM GLENNON,
POLICE-OFFICER TRAINER

the hallway to take cover around the corner, he counted the number of shots he heard behind him, waiting for the suspect to run out of ammunition. Relying on his training, he pulled his .40-caliber Sig Sauer pistol out of his holster.

As happens for most people in life-or-death situations, his brain began to manipulate his perception of time, slowing down the motion as he fled down the corridor. "The hallway looked like one of those dreams where it is just really, really long," he says. Later he would guess that it was 250 ft. long; it was really 79 ft.

But for each superpower his brain gave him, it took one away. In a flash, his brain reprioritized, shifting finite resources to the cause of survival. As he ran, rounds bursting behind him "like cannon shots," he suddenly fell flat on his face in the carpeted hallway, tearing skin off his hands and knees.

"I was a 48-year-old guy wearing 20 lb. of equipment," he remembers, "and I was running faster than I think my body was capable of handling." In life-or-death situations, human beings often lose basic motor skills that we take for granted under normal conditions. (Attackers, not just those they're shooting at, also experience such trade-offs, though they usually have the advantage of not being taken by surprise.)

Instantly, Glennon bounced back up and kept running to the corner, which seemed to get no closer with each step. Just then, his fellow officer fell down in front of him, screaming that he'd been shot. So Glennon's brain reprioritized again. He grabbed the officer's belt and heaved him the rest of the way around the corner. He remembers feeling pain in his back and thinking, Son of a bitch got me. It had taken seconds to get to the end of the hallway, but it felt like minutes.

Then, having finally taken cover, he turned and pointed back down the hallway toward the shooter. It was a chilling sensation to see his bare hand in front of him, pointing in the shape of a pistol like a boy on the playground. Where was his gun? "I looked at my hand. It wasn't there. I looked in my holster. It wasn't there."

Without being aware of it, Glennon had dropped his gun in the hallway when he'd reached over to help the wounded officer. In moments of extreme stress, the brain does not allow for contemplation; it does not process new information the way it normally does. The more advanced parts of the brain that handle decisionmaking go off-line, unable to

intervene until the immediate fear has diminished.

Luckily, Glennon did not dwell on this mistake. Nor did he freeze or shut down entirely, as many people do in life-or-death situations. Instead he reached over and grabbed the gun out of the holster of the injured officer. When he looked back down the hallway, he saw the arm of the shooter pointing toward him—and, behind it, the arm of a third police officer pointing out from another doorway.

More than anything else, Glennon wanted to shoot back. He started to squeeze the trigger. Then from somewhere in the recesses of his brain, he reminded himself: You can't shoot. If he did, he would risk hitting the third officer standing behind the gunman. His training kicked in just in time, overriding his instincts.

The third officer took two shots at the gunman from an awkward angle, missing both times. But seconds later, the suspect threw his gun into the hallway, surrendering. The officers handcuffed him, and a battery of backup officers arrived. Glennon's deputy chief ripped off Glennon's bulletproof vest to make sure he hadn't been shot too; he was fine. The pain in his back was the pain that came from one middle-aged man lifting another. Only later, in the ambulance, did Glennon begin to shake, just as he'd read people tend to do in the aftermath of an adrenaline surge.

BEYOND TARGET PRACTICE

TODAY, GLENNON RUNS CALIBRE PRESS, A LAW-enforcement training company based outside Chicago, and has trained tens of thousands of police officers nationwide. His primary message to his trainees is that they need better training than they typically get; real gunfights are nothing like the ones on TV. "Over half the police officers in the country are only required to go down once or twice a year and shoot holes in a paper target," he says. Experts who study human performance in gunfights generally agree that people can train to perform better through highly realistic, dynamic simulation training. But that is expensive, especially compared with traditional target practice, and it doesn't happen often enough.

In the aftermath of the Newtown shootings, as local governments contemplate allowing more firearms in schools, Glennon worries that communities might inadvertently undertrain civilians just as they have done with police officers. "Cops aren't trained well enough, so what do you think they're

THE MINIMUM SHOOTING-RANGE HIT RATE NECESSARY FOR NYPD OFFICERS TO PASS FIREARM TRAINING

78%



AVERAGE NYPD HIT RATE DURING A GUNFIGHT FROM 1998 TO 2006

When the target does not fire back, the hit rate is...

30%

...but when the target is shooting at officers, the hit rate falls to

18%

NUMBER OF ROUNDS A MUSKET CAN FIRE

3-4 per min.

NUMBER OF ROUNDS AN ASSAULT RIFLE CAN FIRE



45-60

going to do with teachers?" he says. "It's not enough just to carry a gun."

When I asked police safety experts how much training would be ideal for teachers or, for that matter, police officers assigned to schools, they offered different estimates. In Arizona, Alexis Artwohl, co-author of the book *Deadly Force Encounters* and a veteran police psychologist and trainer, recommended a weeklong program with "a lot of practice" and a requirement that participants meet minimum performance standards in order to graduate. In Ohio, Bill DeWeese, a veteran police officer and head of the National Ranger Training Institute, recommended two to three times that much training, and he pointed out that the best training includes much more than firing a gun. "I'm an avid firearms person and always have been," he says. "The one thing I've learned is that it's not about possessing firearms. It's about possessing the skills to read a situation—learning how to adapt and maneuver, to respond to an unexpected, fluid situation."

But in DeWeese's state of Ohio, 1,100 teachers have already signed up for the Armed Teacher Training Program, offered free by Buckeye Firearms Foundation. That class will last just three days. In other states, civilians can get concealed-carry permits with one day of training or less. About a third of all public schools in the U.S. already have armed security, including every high school in Chicago, and that number may increase after the Newtown shootings. To date, there is no clear evidence that such measures make schools safer. Some studies have found a decrease in violence in schools with in-house police officers, while others have found no relationship at all. Still others have found that armed security makes some students feel *less* safe—and may funnel more students than necessary into the criminal-justice system for small infractions.

Of course, it's also possible that the mere presence of armed teachers or guards could deter a shooter from attacking altogether. There would be no need to perform well in a gunfight—because there would be no gunfight. (Likewise, over the course of a career, it is statistically unlikely that a New York City police officer will ever fire his or her weapon in the line of duty, but the silent presence of officers' weapons surely influences the behavior of civilians around them.) Many gun-rights advocates worry that gun-free school zones actually attract shooters because they represent easy, vulnerable targets. It's

REPORTS OF MISSING,
LOST OR STOLEN FIREARMS
FROM FEDERAL
FIREARMS LICENSEES
FROM 2008 TO 2010

74,000

PRICE OF A 40-ROUND MAGAZINE
FOR A BUSHMASTER AR-15

\$26

THERE ARE 600-ROUND
MAGAZINES FOR AS LOW AS

\$25.95

NUMBER OF NEW NRA
MEMBERSHIPS SINCE
SANDY HOOK, ADDING TO
ITS 4.25 MILLION
MEMBERS

NUMBER OF BACKGROUND
CHECKS IN 2012 BY THE FBI

19,592,303

NEARLY DOUBLE THE NUMBER
FROM 2006

hard to know, though, if mass murderers apply such logic when choosing targets—or if they simply seek to create the most socially abhorrent crime scenes in order to breed maximum shock and grief. In the case of the 1999 Columbine High School shooting in Colorado, for example, the attacking students were aware that their school had an armed sheriff's deputy in the school parking lot. (The deputy exchanged fire with one of them but missed.)

Of the mass shootings that are stopped by others, roughly two-thirds are brought to an end by civilians, according to Ron Borsch, a police officer and trainer in Bedford, Ohio, who has been keeping a database of such incidents since the Columbine shooting. That's because they are typically the only ones in the immediate vicinity of the shooter. And most of those civilians are unarmed, Borsch has found. In the shooting of Arizona Representative Gabrielle Giffords and 18 others, which happened in just 15 seconds, civilians tackled gunman Jared Loughner, ripped the gun from his hands and confiscated his ammunition.

By then, though, it's already too late for the victims. Dan Marcou, a former SWAT commander and police officer who was involved in three shootings in Wisconsin, argues that the public's most important opportunity comes before any shooting starts. Most shooters belong to the communities they target and go through predictable phases before they kill anyone, from fantasizing about the murders to planning them. "We have to pay attention," he says. "It doesn't have to be a police officer who fires a shot; sometimes it's a teacher who comes forward and says, 'Hey, this guy is really dangerous.'"

By fixating on hypothetical school-yard gunfights, we are choosing to fight in the riskiest arena: the chances that an officer or armed educator will shoot a child by accident are high, as are the chances of arriving officers' mistakenly shooting anyone seen with a weapon in the ensuing chaos.

With all this uncertainty, it is useful to remember that the odds of a U.S. student's being killed at school are about 1 in 3 million, lower than the odds of being struck by lightning. Schools are safer now than they have been in 20 years. Kids do become victims of gun violence far too often in the U.S.—but almost always outside school, far from gun-free zones or teachers with pistols. ■

Ripley, an Emerson Fellow at the New America Foundation, is a TIME contributor



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girl scouts



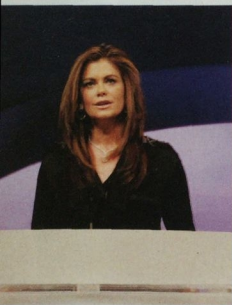
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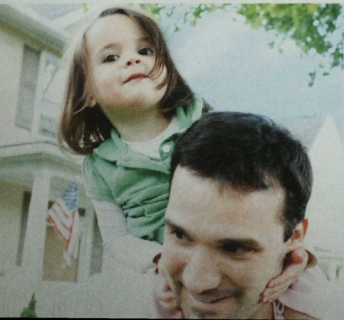
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The Culture

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A Tough Mudder participant in Sarasota, Fla., in December
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Pop Chart

One photo mashup blended Kate with the famously botched "Fresco Jesus"



DIVAS EDITION

GOOD WEEK/
BAD WEEK

Jessica Simpson
Landed a deal for an NBC sitcom based on her life in the public eye

Britney Spears
Confirmed she's leaving *The X Factor*—which reportedly paid her \$15 million to be a judge—after one season



SPORTS

Good Game

After a brutal loss to the Baltimore Ravens, Denver Broncos quarterback Peyton Manning kept it classy, taking his family to the Ravens' locker room to bid farewell to linebacker Ray Lewis, who's retiring at season's end. A snapshot of the meeting (with cameos by Manning's toddler and a garbage can) went viral.



KATE OF THE ART The Duchess of Cambridge described her official portrait, unveiled at London's National Portrait Gallery on Jan. 11, as "absolutely brilliant." But critics howled (the U.K.'s Guardian bemoaned the picture's "sepulchral gloom") and dozens of mocking mashups followed, including one that melded Kate's face with the Joker's.



FOOD Happy Reads

McDonald's in the U.K. is now giving books instead of toys as the prize in its Happy Meals. Kids will get non-fiction reads from DK Books' Amazing World series, including *Stars*, *Big Cats* and *Oceans*. The franchise expects to hand out 15 million books, making it the largest children's-book distributor in the country. You want a bookmark with that?

WINTER WARRIORS

5,834

Number of people in Seattle who helped break the Guinness world record for the largest snowball fight on Jan. 12, using 162,000 lb. of slushy stuff trucked in from the Cascades. The previous record of 5,387 participants was set in South Korea in 2010.

QUICK TALK Tim Gunn

After 10 seasons as the confessor and critical eye for design contestants on *Project Runway* (returning Jan. 24), Tim Gunn knows everything about making it work. The fashion guru spoke to *TIME* about why he's still excited to see what comes down the catwalk.

—LILY ROTHMAN



So, Season 11. It's my favorite season ever. **Ooh! Why?** It's a whole season of team challenges, so the designers have to play nicely with each other. **I'd imagine that doesn't always work out.** There's an incentive to speak forthrightly to any teammate you feel is doing sub-standard work, as opposed to just being snarky about it behind their back. **Don't you miss the snark?** I'm such an antisnark guy. But trust me: they're fashion designers—there's plenty of drama. **Do some of the contestants who've seen the show try to game the system?** I can't help but think that there's some of that. But it's so draining that they just don't have the resources to sustain it. Last season, we had a designer who upped and left. Her reason for leaving was that she didn't know the show was going to be like this. **What are you talking about? You never saw it?** It's inconceivable. **I have to ask you about your catchphrase. How many times a day do people tell you to "make it work"?** With some frequency. It's very flattering. I never get tired of it. It's usually shouted at me from a moving car. **You don't mind? Really?** When this phenomenal, phenomenal thing happens after you turn 50, you really appreciate it. And I mean it. I'm having a blast! **Do you ever think it's not possible to make it work?** Yes. **Some things are beyond work.** I will just say that I'm in awe of the designers. I couldn't do it.

A recent @taylorswift13 tweet: "Back in the studio. Uh oh ..."

MUSIC Taylor's Men

Is Taylor Swift just unlucky in love or a genius at generating publicity? Either way, she has become the master of leaving musical bread crumbs about her many famous beaux.

JOE JONAS

The Jonas Brothers' 27-second breakup call in 2008 is said to have inspired her mournful hit "Forever and Always"

TAYLOR LAUTNER

"Back to December" is reportedly an apology to the *Twilight* star for breaking up with him in 2009



JOHN MAYER

After a brief dalliance, Mayer was hit in 2010 with scathing "Dear John" lyrics: "Don't think I was too young to be messed with?"



JAKE GYLLENHAAL

The couple split after sharing maple lattes in 2011, and "All Too Well" laments a scarf Swift left "at your sister's house"



CONOR KENNEDY

Swift may or may not have crashed a Kennedy wedding but says she wrote 2012's "Starlight" about Conor's grandmother Ethel



HARRY STYLES

Her relationship with this One Direction member ended in January; expect the breakup single to chart later this year



WHO'S NEXT?

"You stay away from Michael J. Fox's son!" Tina Fey joked at the Golden Globes. Everyone laughed—except Swift



SCALED DOWN Call them stinky, slimy or even dinner, but to lauded architect Frank Gehry, fish are an inspiration—the undulating curves and scaly panels of his buildings speak to the influence of fishy forms in his designs. He first transformed aquatic life into sculptural lighting in 1984 after shattering a piece of Formica ColorCore plastic laminate and noticing the jagged shards' similarity to fish scales; the soft light shining within gives the illusion of movement. "Fish Lamps," showcasing the newest incarnations of his sea-centric sculpture, is on display at the Gagosian Gallery in Beverly Hills, Calif., through Feb. 14 and in Paris through March 9.

VERBATIM

'Meryl Streep is not here tonight. She has the flu—and I hear she's *amazing* in it.'

AMY POEHLER, in her opening monologue with co-host Tina Fey at the Golden Globes



3 THINGS YOU DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THIS WEEK

1. A nagging sense of nostalgia for the early 2000s. Destiny's Child and Justin Timberlake have both released new singles.
2. Megan Fox's gift for analogies. The actress said that being rich and famous is like being bullied in high school, "but on a global scale."
3. The scourge of international garlic smugglers. Sweden has accused two Brits of running an illegal Chinese-garlic ring.

Triathlons Are for Wimps. Obstacle-course racing is taking off. And Tough Mudder leads the way

By Sean Gregory/Sarasota

I'M FIVE MILES INTO TOUGH MUDDER, the 12-mile extreme-obstacle-course event that has developed a crazed following, and have already survived the Arctic Enema—submerging my entire body in a vat of ice—and the Kiss of Mud, a crawl through a thick mud patch while practically making out with the muck, since barbed wire hovered a few inches above my head. Now I've come upon the Electric Eel: dozens of yellow live wires dangle above more mud that I'm supposed to crawl through. I have to contort my 6-ft. 4-in. body around the wires to avoid a 10,000-volt shock. That's like trying to drive an SUV through a car wash without getting it wet.

I cower in the face of currents. I won't kiss my wife on a carpet for fear of getting zapped. Which is a problem when you have wall-to-wall carpeting in your apartment. Me and the mud are doing more smooching than me and my spouse.

I squirm halfway through, then *bzzz*. AGH. Two more times: *bzzz*. OWWWW. *Bzzz. AHHH. How the %\$* did that happen? I didn't touch the wire, I swear!* I power through the last bit and get half my body out of this evil mess, finally feeling some relief. But then the Electric Eel twists the knife, rippling one last shock up my back. *Bzzz. AHHHHH! REALLY?*

No rational human should choose to do this. But in 2012, some 460,000 people actually paid from \$95 to \$200 for such hell on Tough Mudder courses. Tough Mudder was hatched four years ago in a business-plan competition at Harvard (What was the challenge? Separating fools from their money?) and launched in 2010. The company generated \$22 million in revenue in 2011 and \$70 million last year. This year there are 53 Tough Mudder events scheduled in 47 cities.

Other obstacle outfits, like Warrior Dash and Spartan Race, have also grown, making this a \$150 million-plus industry. More than 13,500 people signed up for my Tough Mudder race in Sarasota, Fla., in early December. Traffic to the event, at times, was backed up for almost four hours. It was like going to a college-football game, but people munched Power Bars, not nachos.

Tough Mudder preaches that its event is "not a race, but a challenge." At the starting line, participants kneel and recite the Tough Mudder pledge: "I do not whine—kids whine. I help my fellow Mudders complete the course." Runners really do keep this promise: the camaraderie is almost religious.

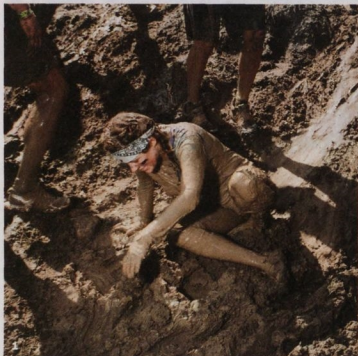
Several Mudders helped boost me over

FOR VIDEO OF THIS ENDURANCE EVENT, GO TO time.com/mudder





CHILL OUT More than 13,500 people signed up for the 12-mile Tough Mudder race in Sarasota, Fla., in December, for which runners had to submerge themselves in an ice bath nicknamed the Arctic Enema



1 GET DOWN AND DIRTY The series of challenges includes climbing, carrying heavy objects and several mud runs. You may survive the endurance event, but your clothes won't; don't bring anything you'd like to wear again **2 WATCH YOUR HEAD** During the Kiss of Mud, stay low in the slop or get spiked by barbed wire

various walls. "You're awesome," I found myself telling them.

An M.C., Sean Corvelle, tries to pump up the participants at the start. "If you brought it today," Corvelle shouts, "give me an oohrah!" "Oohrah!" the Mudders shout back. "I'm telling you, Florida, I'm so proud to share a nation with you," Corvelle says. "Everyone here is so freaking awesome." He reminds Mudders to seek medical attention if necessary. "First!" he shouts. "Aid!" the crowd responds. "First! ... Aid!" People are actually doing a "first aid" chant.

Enough already, I'm thinking: we're running a nonrace here, not doing some civic duty. But I'm also having way less fun than everyone else. "It's a cult," admits Yensys Loyola, 36, a fireman from Sarasota running his second race.

Listening to all this zeal for crawling through mud and helping your fellow man, watching people snap up Tough Mudder-branded T-shirts, backpacks and Nerf basketball hoops in the packed merchandise tent, hearing that the orange headbands you get after completing the event have so much cachet that people try to fetch \$100 for them on eBay, you couldn't help but wonder: What the hell has gotten into America?

Mudder Madness

START WITH THE ECONOMY. FOR SOME, Tough Mudder is an escape. "I think a lot of people right now feel this sense that the world is against them," says Tough Mudder co-founder and CEO Will Dean, 32, a former counterterrorism analyst in the U.K. "They are battling these debts and trying to get a job. We get a lot of people saying, 'The one thing I can control in my life right now is my training for Tough Mudder.'" For others, Tough Mudder is a sign of shifting priorities. "We believe very strongly that experiences are the new luxury good," says Dean. In post-financial crisis America, ice swimming and electric torture are more memorable—and valuable—than, say, a sparkly new watch.

Plus, finishing Tough Mudder is something to gloat about, and people now have access to the greatest bragging machinery in history: Facebook and Twitter. "It feels like the Fight Club," says Corvelle, the announcer and proselytizer. "But this is the Tough Club. And our first rule in the Tough Club is we do talk about it."

Tough Mudder started with an \$8,000 marketing budget, which Dean poured mostly into Facebook ads. The company

has nearly 3 million Facebook Likes, and social media are peppered with pictures of triumphant Tough Mudders. One Web ritual that has caught fire: people posting shots of themselves sitting in their office cubicles on Monday wearing their headbands. We may have Dilbert jobs, but we're Mudders, man! "It's a social currency that you have," says Dean.

Though Tough Mudder plays down competition on the course, the company itself is cutthroat. Tough Mudder mocks one of its competitors, Warrior Dash, at the three-mile mark of its event with a sign that reads, "Warrior Dash finish: but this is Tough Mudder and you've only just begun." Dean has a taste for a scrap. *Outside* magazine revealed that when he was a student at Harvard Business School in 2008, Dean connected with Billy Wilson, the founder of Tough Guy, an obstacle-course race in Great Britain, and offered to do a research report about potential international expansion. After Tough Mudder launched in 2010, Wilson sued Dean for stealing his idea. Dean countersued for defamation. According to *Outside*, Tough Mudder paid Tough Guy \$725,000 to end the legal slog. Harvard also investigated and cleared Dean of wrongdoing—but



STICK TOGETHER Before the race, Tough Mudders recite a pledge: "I do not whine—kids whine. I help my fellow Mudders complete the course." You can run solo or as part of a group, uniform optional **BEAT THE BUZZER** The finale: power through dangling electric wires that send 10,000-volt shocks through your system

said he violated the school's honesty and integrity standards. Harvard put him on alumni probation for five years.

During an interview in his Brooklyn office, Dean—whose face screams "boyish Brit"—is serious and soft-spoken, though clearly nervous about the negativity. "Some people will say that you stole an idea," Dean says. "It's difficult for me to think of a successful business where you can say that you didn't somehow stand upon ideas that were already existing."

Fairly or not, Dean has taken obstacle-course racing to new heights. "Double Mudder!" yelled one zealot during the Hold Your Wood challenge, as he walked along a trail carrying two 30-lb. logs on his shoulders. (The challenge requires participants to carry only one.) Tough Mudder bills itself as "probably the toughest event on the planet," which is a brilliant bit of overselling. The event is difficult for sure. Runners must sign a death waiver; luckily, no one has died on a Tough Mudder course to date. But triathlons require far more training and athletic ability. Since there's no racing, you can jog or walk the course; strangers will help you scale the highest walls (note: I'm a 36-year-old gym rat who runs three to four miles regularly). This format makes Tough Mudder more

accessible: people of all ages and shapes finished the Sarasota course.

Given my fear of heights, electricity and pretty much all extreme activity, I never thought I'd be one of them. But the obstacles are addictive. After jumping out of the frigid Arctic Enema tub, for example, my brain—and my neck, for some reason—froze. But I felt strangely elated and practically sprinted to the next test. The two dozen or so challenges are spread out more or less evenly throughout the 12 miles, so you have time to anticipate, or dread, the next one. The adrenaline skews your sense of time: though I was on the course for around four hours, it felt like much less. Besides the shocks and hypothermic baths and mud swims that left my nails caked for days, other obstacles require that you jump off a 15-ft. ledge into a frigid pool (Walk the Plank), scale a 15-ft.

Crowds gather sadistically to watch runners scream. 'Face-plant!' one guy yelled. 'That's hilarious.'

wall using a rope (Balls to the Wall) and dangle on monkey bars across more water (Funky Monkey).

Even after suffering through the Electric Eel and all the rest, I spent the last half of the event dreading the final obstacle, Electroschock Therapy: Tough Mudder makes you run through dozens of dangling, live electric wires to get to the finish line. Unlike the Eel, this challenge won't let people squirm under the wires. Crowds gather sadistically to delight in watching runners scream their way through. "Oh my God, face-plant!" one guy yelled. "That's hilarious."

So here I was, staring down the wires. Other racers started looking at me funny as I stepped up to go and then backed off a few times. Finally, I had my screw-it moment and dived in: Bzzz, bzzz, bzzz, face-plant, right into the mud.

I crawled under the last few wires, weak. But I actually did this crazy thing. Tough Mudder delivered on its promise: it got me out of my comfort zone, and hell yeah, I felt like I'd done something special. So I chugged the free Dos Equis beer that Tough Mudder awards at the finish and clutched the sacred orange headband. I'm a Mudder, baby. And let me tell you all about it.

Movies

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GO TO entertainment.time.com



Love to the End. *Amour* earns cheers, tears and Oscar nominations galore

By Richard Corliss

A MARRIED COUPLE IN THEIR 80S—ANNE (Emmanuelle Riva) and Georges (Jean-Louis Trintignant)—stand up to infirmity and death. When Anne suffers several strokes that cripple her and rob her of speech, Georges dismisses their grown daughter (Isabelle Huppert) and a retinue of caregivers, deciding to care for Anne on his own in their Paris apartment. Though the prognosis is terminal, the couple's commitment is eternal. That's why the movie is called *Amour*.

Michael Haneke's end-of-life love story received all the honors expected for a work from Europe's most respected auteur: the 2012 Palme d'Or at Cannes and a slew of year-end reviewers' awards. No shock there; Haneke's severe, impeccable choices are caviar to the critics. Then on Jan. 10, the Motion Picture Academy trumped those accolades by nominating *Amour* for five Oscars: Best Picture, Director, Original Screenplay, Actress and Foreign Language Feature. It's the first film to earn all those lofty citations in the same year.

Soon expanding from showcases in Manhattan and Los Angeles to most

other major North American cities, *Amour* could prove to be the rare example of a demanding, defiantly individualistic film that finds a wide audience. In Britain, the movie and its director have already inspired an impudently funny fake Twitter feed, in which someone posing as the elegant filmmaker raffishly declares his obsession with ginchy rom-coms like *Sex and the City* ("I lately ive been such a samantha") and rhapsodizes about his cat's farts. The bogus account could be part of a brilliant stealth-marketing campaign, but the 70-year-old director said,

On the set Writer-director Haneke, far left, with stars Riva and Trintignant, made the romantic thriller that is up for Best Picture and best foreign film

"I'm not interested in that kind of thing."

In a feature-film career that began when he was 47, Haneke's kind of thing is investigating humanity's propensity for cruelty and the cinema's knack of manipulating its audience, which he sees as equally sadistic. Often his films end without explicitly resolving the central dilemma, and viewers study the final shots as if they were the grassy knoll in Dallas.

The end of *Amour* also leaves questions hanging, but it marks a change of tone and perhaps of heart for the Austrian director. (Because of his nationality, *Amour* was submitted to the Academy by Austria, not France.) The cruelty here is nature's need to let living things die and create a calvary of our last days. But as Georges and Anne demonstrate, the most dreadful challenges can trigger the most heroic responses, the greatest acts of love.

Is *Amour* too strong a dose of reality for older viewers? Mostly, no. They've embraced a film that confronts the decay most people eventually face and does so with simple eloquence and subtle ferocity. Viewers also connect with the acute performances of Trintignant, 82, star of such seminal '60s films as *A Man and a Woman* and *Z*, and Riva, 85, unforgettable in the 1959 *Hiroshima, Mon Amour*.

Last year the silent comedy *The Artist*, made by the French director Michel Hazanavicius, swept the Oscars. Haneke has much longer odds to take Best Picture on Oscar night, Feb. 24, which also happens to be Riva's 86th birthday. But wouldn't it be lovely if *Amour* conquered all? ■

Critics' Darling. Michael Haneke's earlier films



CACHE (HIDDEN), 2005
This film about a Paris couple terrorized by surveillance videos of them drew raves at Cannes



FUNNY GAMES, 1997 AND 2007
Haneke first made this film about sadistic killers in German and then reshot it in English



THE WHITE RIBBON, 2009
This mystery, about a German village beset by violence, won Haneke his first Palme d'Or

Food

When Health Freezes Over Frozen salads and other new diet aids

By Josh Ozersky

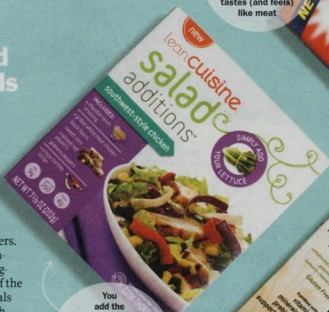
IT BEING JANUARY AND MOST OF US being fatter than we were last year, it's only natural that we want to lose weight. It's just that we don't want to diet. Or cook. Or follow excruciatingly complex deprivation regimens. What we really want to do, apparently, is eat dietetic frozen dinners.

The big diet players are paying attention. Lean Cuisine, always a low-cal juggernaut, is trying to expand its share of the \$8 billion-a-year market for frozen meals by introducing frozen salad kits, which are meant to be added to fresh lettuce—a kind of healthy version of Hamburger Helper. It's a potentially revolutionary idea: with a minimum of effort, its Salad Additions, which consist of a bag of chicken pieces, vegetables, dressing and various kinds of crunchy small objects, turn the blandest of leafy greens into what is essentially a restaurant-quality salad.

Meanwhile, Atkins, which has struggled since its founder's death in 2003—the company went bankrupt in 2005 and is currently owned, hilariously, by the same private-equity firm that owns Cinnabon—just launched its first line of frozen meals and hired Sharon Osbourne to talk up low-carb, which has been eclipsed by gluten-free mania. Atkins' crustless chicken potpie is comfortably familiar, a calculated move, no doubt, since the most successful diet foods, says Harry Balzer of the market-research firm NPD Group, are “new versions of things you already know.”

I sampled a dozen new healthy frozen meals, and only a few were inedible. Some were actually pretty good. It should be noted that none of them are cheap. The Atkins dinners, the best of the lot, cost from \$4 to \$5 each. That's \$20 to feed four people—assuming three are children and the adult is Gandhi. Even my 100-lb. wife needed to eat two meals for dinner.

The Culture



You add the lettuce, and these salad kits provide everything else, including bright, acidic sauces; moist chicken; and interesting crunchy things to break up the texture

Remember low-carb? In Atkins' new line of frozen meals, the sauces have some zing and the meat tastes (and feels) like meat



Want to be trendy and avoid wheat and anything else that contains gluten? Fine. But steer clear of this vile wheat-free pasta



Eggs may be the hardest of all frozen foods to get right; CedarLean's egg-white frittatas taste like a step down from a truck-stop buffet

This classic, included for comparison's sake, pairs candy-sweet sauce with disappointment



Travel



Turbulent Takeoff. Boeing's new-tech Dreamliner tries to work out the kinks

By Bill Saportio

WHEN A NEW AIRLINER GOES INTO service, travel fans clamor to be first on board. Airlines love to be first to fly a new jet too. It's a great marketing tool, one reason United Airlines was the first U.S. carrier to take delivery of the twin-aisle, three-class, 250-seat Boeing 787 Dreamliner, which is being touted for its creature comforts and fuel efficiency. The carrier has been giving domestic passengers a chance to fly on the new plane, with flights from Houston to Los Angeles, Denver and Chicago—even though the Dreamliner is designed for long-haul service.

But breakdowns have broken the Dreamliner reverie: On Jan. 16, the Federal Aviation Administration grounded the 787 until Boeing devises a plan to deal with the risk of a battery fire. Japan's aviation authorities grounded that nation's 787 fleet temporarily after a battery alarm led to an emergency landing of an All Nippon Airways flight on Jan. 16. The incident followed a fire in a lithium-ion battery aboard a parked Japan Airlines 787 in Boston and a fuel leak in another JAL 787 readying for takeoff. After United found faulty wiring in one of its six Dreamliners this month, the FAA launched an unprecedented review of an aircraft it had already certified.

Boeing says these are the typical glitches of a new aircraft, which is true. Then again, this is a *new* new aircraft. Its "more electric architecture," in the words of Bo-

eing's chief project engineer, Mike Sinnett, replaces the traditional hydraulic systems that control things like wing surfaces. Six onboard electric generators run this architecture, but Boeing has built in enough redundancy to safely operate the jet with just one—in the unlikely event that five fail.

Another area of concern: Boeing has outsourced more pieces of the 787 than it has for its other jets, which makes the systems integration potentially more complicated. It's a plug-and-play aircraft.

So far the Dreamliner's problems have been headaches as opposed to catastrophic structural failures. Still, carriers are being forced to reroute flyers—and today they don't have many backup planes.

Should you now give the Dreamliner a pass? Absent the recent news, you wouldn't give much thought to the other planes operating on the same routes as United's 787s. United also flies Boeing 737s, 757s and 767s as well as Airbus A319s and A320s to Chicago, Denver and L.A. Or you could try

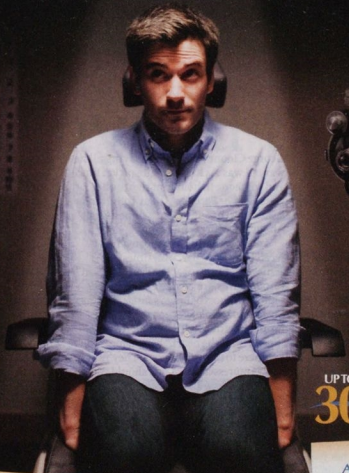
So far the plane's problems have been headaches as opposed to catastrophic failures

American Airlines: on those routes, it relies on the newish but smallish 65-seat American Eagle Canadair 700 regional jet made by Bombardier. (Don't even think of taking a suitcase on board one of these planes.) Statistically, regional commuter jets as a group are slightly less safe than large jets.

If the new plane makes you uncomfortable, you could choose an old one. Many of them have flown well beyond their projected life spans on the theory that regular maintenance has obviated issues like metal fatigue. United recently flew an A319 that, according to FlightAware.com, is the same plane that in 2000 couldn't extend its right main landing gear for touchdown at Newark. The pilot landed safely, and the damaged jet was repaired. United also flies 737s of various vintages. It's fair to say that the 737 may be the most reliable passenger airplane ever made. It's also accurate to say that 737s have crashed 19 times in the U.S., with 299 fatalities, since 1970.

In any case, before long you can expect to encounter plenty of Dreamliners—assuming the FAA doesn't find any more issues—and lots of other new planes too. Boeing has about 800 orders for the Dreamliner. According to airline consultant Boyd Group, 15,323 new jets will go into service by 2022. Those include Airbus' A320neo as well as Boeing's next-generation 737NG. The Russians have launched the Sukhoi Superjet, and the Chinese aren't far behind. Statistically speaking, flying has never been safer, but to maintain that safety, jets need to improve, because the number of flights is increasing. The best way to do that is with new technology—but don't expect it to be glitch-free. ■

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Reference: 1. In a survey of 203 optometrists in the US; Alcon data on file, 2011.

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Fit only

Joel Stein



The Foster Precedent

There's no place for bitterness at award shows, so I'm letting mine out now

HAVE ROOM IN MY BRAIN FOR ONLY one adjective per celebrity. Angelina Jolie is hot; Russell Crowe is angry; James Franco is overcommitted; Ryan Seacrest is nearby. This rule also applies to noncelebrities. My lovely wife Cassandra is lovely.

My adjective for Jodie Foster was *smart*. Apparently, Foster wanted me to have many, many more opinions of her. Accepting her lifetime-achievement award at the Golden Globes, she made a slightly hostile speech in which she stated she valued "privacy above all else," mocking a culture in which "every celebrity is expected to honor the details of their private life with a press conference, a fragrance and a prime-time reality show." Then she continued her prime-time network-television speech by talking about being single, her ex-partner, her friendship with Mel Gibson, why she didn't come out publicly, her two kids, her mom's dementia and her temptation to quit acting. If she loved privacy any more, she would have flashed a nipple.

To be fair, I can imagine how hard all of that has been for her. I'm straight, and I still make the exact same angry "privacy above all else" speech whenever Cassandra uses my computer after I forget to click on "Clear history." And I'm sure Foster feels some anger about being made to feel guilty for not coming out at the height of the gay-rights movement. Though really, the only thing a person needs to be private about in the 21st century is a friendship with Mel Gibson.

But I fear that Foster has set a precedent and that people will now see a lifetime-achievement award as an opportunity to unload all their resentments and frustrations. And I've been to enough TIME "retirement" celebrations to know how likely this is. I'm worried about

George Clooney crying and saying all he wanted was 2.4 kids, a white picket fence and someone to hold him tight as he watched *The Bachelor*. About Tom Hanks admitting that he dislikes something. About Bill Murray emoting.

I don't want this to happen when I receive my Dave Barry lifetime achievement award at the Penis Jokes in Print Awards. For advice, I called James Lipton, the host of Bravo's *Inside the Actors Studio* and recipient of 2007's Daytime Emmy Lifetime Achievement Award. "Speak from the heart," he told me. "You're not there to impress anyone. They're already impressed." He said I should start with "Thank you" and then, without bragging, explain how I got to the stage, just like actors do on Lipton's show. Which, he reminded me, is entering its 19th season of serving the students of the Actors Studio Drama School, of which Lipton is the founder and dean emeritus. Bragging. I

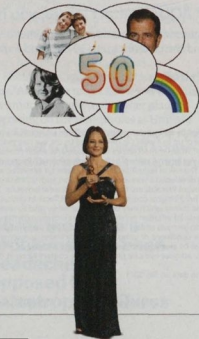
realized, means something different to performers than to the rest of us.

After the thanking, I asked, I get to rip into people who screwed me, right? "That would absolutely be the worst thing. It's not a moment for gloating. Certainly not a dance in the end zone," he said. Can I at least rail against the shallowness of society to make myself seem deep? "That's not the subject of the evening. You're not there to discuss the National Football League, either." If there is one thing you should not discuss at the Golden Globes, it's the National Football League.

I would never question the wisdom of Lipton—who as a child, he told me, was a debater and an oratory champion—which is why I'm going to release all my bitterness now. First, I'm upset that I don't have a prime-time reality show, press conferences or a fragrance that exists outside my own house. I'm also angry that I work in a backward age when political discourse is still considered more important than writing about yourself, even when yourself is me and political discourse is about minting a trillion-dollar coin. And I'm mad that I got to be seen on television by millions of attractive women only after I met Cassandra. I would also like to thank Cassandra for this award.

So now I'll be able to accept my award the way I should: with false gratitude to a room of competitors and sad acceptance that penis jokes have all gone digital. And with my version of the only good part of Foster's speech: when she dramatically said she was quitting acting and then told reporters backstage that it's weird they thought she was quitting acting because she's totally not quitting acting. I, by the way, will totally not quit telling penis jokes.

Foster did reveal a larger truth at the end of her speech: the tension between wanting to be left alone and wanting to be known. "I want to be seen, to be understood deeply and to be not so very lonely," she said. We all want that. Most of us, however, don't want it so badly we're willing to hang out with Mel Gibson. ■

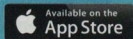


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10 Questions

Rodriguez's 1970 album, *Cold Fact*, went platinum in South Africa, where his fans thought he was dead



Detroit singer **Sixto Rodriguez** on finding out his songs have been huge hits for decades—on another continent

You released two albums in the '70s, *Cold Fact* and *Coming from Reality*, that didn't take off in the U.S. Then 25 years later, you discovered you were as big in South Africa as Bob Dylan and the Beatles. How did you find out?

A person by the name of Steven Segerman—Sugar, as he likes to be called—came over to my house in Detroit from South Africa. He showed me the CDs and told me about this fan base in South Africa.

The people in that country believed you were dead, that you'd committed suicide onstage. Why?

I don't have any idea. Maybe someone said, He burned out, he went up in smoke. I think that's kind of the distortion that happened.

So you'd been making music your whole life, supporting yourself by doing demolition, and suddenly in your 50s, somebody goes to you and says you have millions of fans in another country. What was that like?

I didn't believe it was something until I saw it in '98 [when I toured in South Africa]. The first day the tickets went on sale, 11,000 sold. These 5,000-seaters were all sold out. And audiences knew the lyrics and sang with me throughout the concert. That was pretty amazing. There is an element of magic in this whole thing.

Why do you think your music was never that

popular in the U.S.?

At that time, there were a lot of people releasing records. Carole King with *Tapestry*. Elton John released his first album in '71. Fleetwood Mac came out with *Rumours*. So there was a lot of competition. I toured Australia, but that was it.

Have you wondered, Why South Africa?

They had conscription there, and here in the States the young bloods were burning their draft cards, going to Canada, so the same kind of social pressures and government repression.

You ran for mayor of Detroit. Why?

I've been a candidate for office at least eight times. A couple times for mayor, state representative, city council. Trying to get my issues out to the public—the violence in the city, the police brutality.

So which one would you rather be? Mayor or musician?

I am a musical-political. It's hard to separate the two for me.



Your records went platinum in South Africa, with "Sugar Man" and other songs becoming megahits. Why didn't you get any royalties?

I think down the road that will happen. I don't have the wherewithal at this point to look into it, but I would go to [record-company executives] with a legal team now. I would go with an international lawyer, an entertainment lawyer and one that knows how to do the courts. It's kind of involved, you know?

Searching for *Sugar Man*, the documentary about you, was just nominated for an Oscar. You have a new CD, and you're touring. Are you enjoying the fame?

I met Alec Baldwin, and I told him, "You're a famous man," and he said, "That's a double-edged sword," and I kind of agree with that. I hope I can handle it. You know people want to say hello and stuff. But I'm a musician, see? The thing is, I communicate.

I'm guessing you're not doing much demolition anymore. I was doing demolition yesterday. I'm renovating my home.

You're doing your own demolition? At 70?

I live below my means. I think that's a good discipline because you never can tell. I'm not an ascetic. I just think that's wiser.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

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